

ED 030 298

EM 006 834

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Television Experience Patterns in Children and Juveniles; Illustrated by the Prize-Winning Programmes of the Prix Jeunesse 1964. Research Report. Publications of the International Central Institute for Youth and Educational Television. No.1.

International Central Inst. for Youth and Educational TV.

Pub Date Sep 65

Note -38p.; Research Report.

Available from -International Central Institute for Youth and Educational Television, Bayerischer Rundfunk, 8 Munchen 2, Rundfunkplatz 1, Germany

EDRS Price MF-\$0.25 HC-\$2.00

Descriptors - *Behavior Patterns, Child Development, Childhood Attitudes, *Children, *Comprehension, *Early Experience, Experience, Interest Research, Learning Processes, Media Research, Memory, Retention Studies, *Television, *Television Research, Television Viewing, Youth

A study to test the appeal, reception, and response quality in the case of programs screened at the 1st. Prix Jeunesse contest in Munich by the observation of children and juveniles (age-grouped 6 to 12, 12 to 15, and 15 and over) is described in this paper. Specific questions considered are: 1. What conditions govern appeal? 2. Are age and sex significant factors? 3. Is the understanding of program content connected with its appeal? 4. What is the connection, if any, between interest and appeal in the different types of program? 5. To what extent do interests influence judgment? 6. Is there any relation between the ratings and the scenes and details retained in the foreground of the memory? And 7. Is it possible to determine any basic tendencies of partialities that are influenced by subject matter and make-up? The publication opens with an introduction and statement of terms of reference and methods. This section also includes a bibliography. The remaining sections deal with the results of an interpretative analysis on children and with the results of tests on juveniles. The closing pages contain a summarization of results. (Author/CO)



ED030298

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TELEVISION EXPERIENCE PATTERNS
IN CHILDREN AND JUVENILES

illustrated by the prize-winning programmes
of the Prix Jeunesse 1964

RESEARCH REPORT

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Carried out by the Scientific Institute for
Youth and Educational Problems in Film and Television

in collaboration with the

INTERNATIONAL CENTRAL INSTITUTE
FOR YOUTH AND EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

EM006834

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Publisher:

International Central Institute for Youth and Educational Television,
Bayerischer Rundfunk, 8 München 2, Rundfunkplatz 1, Tel.: 59002058

Responsible:

Helmut Winter

Date of publication:

September 1965

Print:

Bosch-Druck, 83 Landshut, Rochusgasse 423-25

TELEVISION EXPERIENCE PATTERNS IN CHILDREN AND JUVENILES

illustrated by the prize-winning programmes of the Prix Jeunesse 1964

Introduction

The viewer and what goes on inside him while watching television is the great unknown, the resolution, or rather the elucidation, of which is of equally great interest to producers and educators, though perhaps for rather different reasons. What pleases and appeals to the viewer? What is grasped, i. e. understood, extracted from the whole, inwardly digested? What stimulates further personal evaluation, and in what direction can certain impetuses be assumed to act? In the past 15 years, motion-picture research has formed a fairly well-rounded picture of its audience – as far as children and juveniles are concerned – and, above all, also established proofs based on development psychology, sociology and, in rudimentary form, typology. It must be investigated how far this knowledge, which, though obtained from motion-picture studies, is based on fundamental facets of human nature, can be applied to television and its often quite different situation or at least offer useful information for the observations made in the study of this younger medium, and on the other hand where the basic differences in the viewer's impressions lie. Last year, the Scientific Institute for Youth and Educational Problems in Film and Television viewed the prize-winning programmes of the Prix Jeunesse with children and juveniles; the aim of these test results is to make a contribution to the clarification of the above-mentioned questions.

Terms of Reference and Method

1. Significance of the Problem

The study was based on the following premises:

1. The appropriate design and assessment of television programmes for children and juveniles is possible only if the psychological factors (conditions and dependencies) of television communication are taken into account. Since hardly any pertinent results are available on this particular point so far, the establishment of judgment standards and safeguards for them can only be attained by way of empirical investigations. Apart from this aspect, which is of importance for the award of the Prix Jeunesse, the formulation of the problem is of fundamental importance.
2. There seems to be an affinity between the mentality of children, and also of juveniles, and certain television shows, which is reflected in consumer behaviour. Potentially and actually the television medium can reach the greatest number of viewers. (Breadth effect).
3. The period of childhood and youth is the most important development stage for the basic emotional level; at the same time, this means increased responsiveness to experience-intensive and psycho-dramatic material. (Depth effect).
4. The period of childhood and youth is characterized by the fact that in this stage the highest degree of plasticity is attained in respect of pictorial impressions. Television can therefore reckon with a particularly good response. (Educational effect).
5. Television presentations which are not attuned to the basic psychological structure (interests and emotions) of the young viewers remain, according to experience gathered so far, ineffective as far as education and stimulus response are concerned. The viewers very soon automatically and naturally turn away from such programmes. (Boomerang effect).

2. Formulation of the Problem – Aim of the Study

The purpose of the study was to test the appeal, the reception and the response quality in the case of the programmes screened at the 1st Prix Jeunesse contest in Munich by observation of children and juveniles of all age groups (from 6 upwards). Above all, interest centred around the cognitive and emotional response to the programmes, classified by age-specific differences, if any. The established relations between psychological reactions and statements relating to content and make-up were intended to provide a basis for generally valid judgment categories. Hence the studies did not aim at the experimental or statistical recording of macro- or micro-effects, but rather at the determination of reactions to the screened programmes with the object of finding conditions and dependencies (on the audience and the programme). In particular, it was intended to inquire into the following questions:

1. What conditions (in the receiver and in the message) govern appeal (pleasure)?
2. Are there specific appeal tendencies at the various age levels, are there sex-specific differences?
3. Is there a relation between understanding of formal and content statements and the appeal of a programme?
4. What role do interests play in the appeal of different types of programme?
5. To what extent do interests influence judgments?
6. What is the position of the most frequently accepted sequences within the programme as a whole; is there any relation between the ratings and the scenes and details retained in the foreground of the memory (congruences and differences)?
7. Are there differences or dependencies in the judgment of and inclination towards certain programmes, say, in respect of the usual quota attributes (age, sex, background)?
8. Is it possible to determine any basic tendencies of partialities that are influenced by subject matter and make-up?

3. Set-up of Study

The scope of the study was restricted by technical and economic limitations. This applies to the selection of the people to be tested (scope of sample), to the restriction of the inquiry to primarily age- and sex-dependent psychological data while ignoring any correlated sociological dimensions, and also to the evaluation procedure, which, in line with the subject and aim of the study, used predominantly descriptive and interpretive methods.

4. Methods

In selecting procedures it had to be considered that the application of certain methods is governed by (a) the problem, (b) economic and technical aspects, and (c) the subject of the study. Since, in the present case, we could not concern ourselves with decision tests (verification of theses by rejection of the null hypothesis), but only with exploratory tests – this set of problems is as good as unexplored – this situation alone imposed limitations.

Starting from the consideration that with young children a complex questionnaire method can be used only with certain qualifications, we decided on a combination of several methods which, to a certain extent, permitted reciprocal validation. In this way it was possible to benefit from the advantages of several procedures; the greater flexibility of exploration and interviewing, the greater exactitude of questionnaire standardized in preliminary tests and controlled observation. Moreover, this mode of action had the advantage that the material obtained could be checked in comparable points as to its internal consistency.

In particular, the following methods were used:

1. Systematic observation of expressions (covert), using classified patterns. (A form of expression observation of the Dawson wiggle test type elaborated by the Scientific Institute; it is related to programme units and is quantifiable). Falsifying transfers from observers to test persons (feedback) were excluded; the test situation was adapted as closely as possible to the normal viewing situation (small groups); the covered headline principle was adhered to in that the intention and object of the test screenings was not previously disclosed to the test persons; furthermore, we avoided any inhibition of spontaneity in behaviour and reactions by (disciplinary) directives or regulations.

The results contained in the records permit the determination of collective and intrasubjective concordances and differences in behaviour.

2. Recall tests to determine the statements remembered and reproduced in writing (adequate and inadequate associations).
3. Standardized questions; for children and juveniles it proved necessary to use a version adapted (in formulation and pattern) to their mental level and literary capabilities. In order to exclude possible sources of error which might have been caused by the order of the questions, preliminary tests were carried out in which the order was varied and the reliability of the questionnaires and the validation of the questions were checked. It proved most expedient to use various forms of questions (open-ended and closed-ended questions; multiple-choice and „yes-no“ type questions). In order to preclude normative-tabooed prestige answers, both projective and egocentric formulations were chosen. The function of the person in charge of the tests remained unknown to those undergoing the tests, so any influence on the answers from this source should be excluded. Moreover, the inherent consistency of the answers could be checked by means of the included control questions.

- It was possible to ask the person in charge of the tests clarifying questions – which proved important, especially for the children – without disturbing or influencing other test participants. (Only individual instruction).

In order not to impose too much of a strain on the willingness of the test participants, the questionnaire was limited to ten questions. According to the observations of the test supervisors (at least two at each session) the questionnaires were completed conscientiously by the test participants throughout.

The questions (two questionnaires were used) were designed to ascertain:

- (a) the general television behaviour and the direction of the interests of the test participants, differentiated according to the usual quota attributes,
 - (b) the ratings of the screened programmes,
 - (c) thematic and formal, detailed statements (reasons for assigned rating),
 - (d) clarifying questions as to content and form of the programme; the question of purport (to check understanding of the whole and of details),
 - (e) suitability for various ages and appeal (collection and classification of reasons given).
4. Schematized individual and group interviews (in the case of children more in the form of exploration to elicit spontaneous remarks, which were recorded in their entirety with a concealed tape recorder) were used as a control and supplementation of the study. This obviated the necessity of disturbing written records during the test and simultaneously contributed towards the reliability of the results and diminution of conscious or unconscious defensive reactions of the test persons (impairment of free expression of opinion due to feeling of playing negative role).

5. Execution

The methods were employed in the sequence indicated. The test participants were sure of their anonymity. The questionnaires were filled out without being influenced by verbal and optical

group interaction. The basic requirements for experimental test set-ups, arbitrariness, repeatability and variability, were satisfied.

The test was applied to the programmes awarded prizes in the first Prix Jeunesse contest:

Category I for Children (up to 12):

Information and Instruction:

The Lyrebird, Australia, 19 min. 06 sec.

Games and Entertainment:

The Winter Oak, USSR, 19 min. 24 sec.

Clown Ferdinand and the Case, Deutschland Fernsehfunk, East Berlin, 22 min. 35 sec.

Category II for Children (12-15 years):

Information and Instruction:

Going to work - Nursing, England, 19 min. 45 sec.

Games and Entertainment:

A Castle in Spain (Un Chateau en Espagne), France, 53 min. 24 sec.

Robot Emil makes an Excursion, Czechoslovakia, 25 min. 58 sec.

Category III (over 15 years):

Information and Instruction:

Longing for Companions, Japan, 30 min. 34 sec.

Young People's Concert, USA, 52 min. 37 sec.

Games and Entertainment:

Girl of Ainu, Japan, 26 min. 06 sec.

Spring Rain, USSR, 10 min. 21 sec.

(Format 16/20, Belgium, 60 min.)

German synchronized versions of the programmes were screened during the tests, and also several original versions in control tests. For technical reasons the screenings had to be held partly in the studios of the headquarters of the Bavarian Broadcasting Service and partly in the Freimann studios.

In order to obtain information on the extent to which the test-situation affected the results in comparison to the viewing situation at home, a small number of control investigations were made, partly with the same children and programmes in different viewing situations. Comparison of the results obtained for the questions involved here showed no significant differences.

Preliminary tests were held between August 20 and December 8, 1964; the main tests extended over a good six months (from January 13, 1965, to August 4, 1965), care being taken to ensure that the tests were not spread over too long a period, but concentrated around a few key dates, in order to reduce the time factor as a source of error as far as possible.

As required by the formulation of the problem, the investigation embraced children and young people between the ages of 6 and 20 (equally distributed among the various age groups). It included children from 5 Munich schools (distributed over 5 city districts) with a total of 225 test persons in age groups I and II, and 246 juveniles subdivided into employed persons and school pupils (5 schools) in age group III, with a similar even distribution among the age groups. The experimental nature of the screenings and the purpose of the investigation were not disclosed to the test persons. They were merely informed that they could see a television programme.

The selection made by us using free quota procedure (validated by random samples) is, of course, not statistically representative, but in the usual quota attributes it has the character of a cross-section of a city's population. The method of selection is justified by the results of investigations which, in similar surveys, arrived at the conclusion that comprehension and appeal of a pro-

gramme is governed less by sociological factors than by age- and sex-dependent psychological factors (see, for instance, Himmelweit, Zieris). It is therefore legitimate within specified limits, to apply the psychological data obtained with the test sample to other ethnological and sociological strata. The psychostructural similarity (basic attributes) of all persons in a certain period of development can be regarded as given (results of general development psychology).

The verification (also statistically) of this hypothesis for the specific case of television should, however, be brought in subsequent investigations on a larger scale.

In order to adapt the test screenings under experimental conditions as far as possible to the normal field situation (TV habits within the family), the individual presentations were attended only by small groups comprising about 8 test persons, so that on average each screening was viewed by 4 - 5 different test groups.

In this connection, the question arose of how far a different sequence of screenings would cause a significant change in the assessment. (Apart from insignificant shifts, this was not the case.)

Furthermore, it seemed methodologically important to us to inquire into the question of how far, in the case of repeated participation of the same test person in screenings (repeated TV consumption), the assessment standpoints and reasons change (so-called repetition effect). To this end we formed split groups on basis A: test persons who, in the course of time, saw all screenings, and basis B (the majority): test persons who saw only one screening. Comparison of the results showed no qualitative difference in respect of apprehension and judgment, but differences in respect of proficiency in filling out the questionnaires; the split group (basis A) showed greater proficiency in filling out questionnaires. The questions were answered in more detail and in a shorter time.

6. Evaluation

Evaluation was carried out (with an eye to expediency) with the aid of descriptive and interpretive methods.

The primary method used was an interpretive analysis of statements. An exclusively descriptive treatment of the large bulk of material would not do justice to the multi-faceted nature of the subject of the investigation and, in addition, would produce little to help the formulation of more advanced working hypotheses. The aim of the interpretive analysis was to enable the numerous individual findings to be seen as a pattern and interpreted by that pattern, and to permit the appropriate conclusions to be derived. The next step is to verify the empirical results and the hypotheses derived from them, on the one hand by continuous supplementation and broadening of the empirical material, and on the other by step-by-step, systematic improvement of significance (also by means of correlation), including details. The descriptive evaluation of the material consisted primarily in categorization, quantification and weighting of the statements (frequency of occurrence, establishment of relations). With regard to scope, it was first limited to evaluation of the three most important questions, the answers to which were categorized, their percentage distributions calculated and relations set up. At a more advanced stage in the research, it might prove expedient to calculate the correlations and significances. Similarly, all factors obtained by hypothesis might be more closely defined and their significance improved with the aid of factor analysis.

In arranging the material, prime importance was attached to facilitating a subsequent, differentiated evaluation (from various given standpoints) going beyond the present framework and, above all, a necessary, systematic continuation of the work. It is necessary if only for the reason that the interests, attitudes, needs and, to some extent, the response of the young viewers are not constant magnitudes, but variables which change with the infrastructural changes of society (in cross and longitudinal section).

7. Outlook

The present study must be the beginning of a continuous, differentiated and systematically prosecuted research programme (extending beyond national frontiers), with the object of procuring reliable and valid, empirical basic data for youth and educational television (in cross and longitudinal section). Only in this way is it possible in the vast field of education, in which traditional forms have entered a phase of change, to find new structures in keeping with the times. What has long been a matter of course in other spheres, especially in technology and the natural sciences, that is, the utilization of scientific research as a foundation for ambitious planning and work, will also prove inevitable in this field in the long run.

Explanatory notes

It is not until adolescence is reached that the individual and sociological situation of the viewer becomes a decisive factor affecting the nature of his response, whereas in childhood the traits typical of his age and the changes in them are the dominating elements. For this reason, and also because the majority of the prize-winning programmes in Categories I and II cater to ages at the border between the two groups, i. e. about 12, we have decided to divide them into two categories – instead of the three used for the awards – for the purpose of presenting and interpreting the results. The two children's categories (I and II) are combined and that for juveniles over 15 (III) is treated separately.

All quotations for which ages are given are taken from questionnaires, those without any mention of the age are from tape recordings.

Abbreviations

OS = Oberschüler (pupil of upper-grade secondary school)

MS = Mittelschüler (pupil of lower-grade secondary school)

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RESULTS

I. Children (Age Categories I and II)

One remarkable result of television studies so far – our own and those known from the literature (1) – is that the attraction of television for children lies almost entirely in programmes of feature-film character, while the other types of programme are given far less attention. It is symptomatic of this that in conversation on programmes in general the term „films“ is used without hesitation, that in the lists of favourite programmes mentioned those having the character of a film rank highest and, above all, that children's judgment standards are oriented to the feature-film ideal or programmes of a similar nature, that is to say, the entertainment value, and primarily the excitement, is the governing element. As nice or almost as nice as „Lassie“ – meaning not the old film, but the TV serial – is a standard very frequently applied by children at the present time and is equivalent to the highest praise. This attitude does not exclude viewing of other programmes – according to their own statements many children see just „everything“ – and some of them are even liked, but reports of all types, games and hobby programmes, magazine-type shows and the like are regarded by the children as incidentals and not the principal thing in television.

The preference for film-like programmes is due to the close relationship of this form of presentation to the child's nature; it is therefore universal and was also clearly demonstrated during the testing of the Prix Jeunesse programmes, whether as approval of a certain programme as a whole or of the sequences in this vein which it contained. Children want stimulating experiences, want something to happen in which they can participate, and this is the reason for their desire for action, an integrated presentation of events of some sort, which is in the nature of a story. To match their own liveliness, the action must be lively and fast-moving, something „has got to happen.“ However, this liveliness may assume different forms; it may be found just as much in the forward drive towards some goal (gripping) as in the increased movement and liveliness of a merry mood (amusing) or more formally in optical movement, rhythm, music.

Presentation in the form of an action story, however, is of elementary importance not only because of the pleasure it gives and its appeal, but also on account of the easier apprehension and assimilation. Assimilation of what is presented takes place during childhood almost exclusively by way of sharing in experiences. The capacity for other types of assimilation – e. g. by more intellectual observation, by weighing things up and making deductions, as demanded by the report – is hardly developed in the younger children and is still rudimentary even in prepuberty. Children grasp what is shown in a film by mentally taking part in the action, and for this a quite definite scheme of action, a sort of story is necessary.

The ups and downs of such action or story can be read quite clearly from the expressions assumed by children. The far-reaching parallelism of the action and the mimed and spoken expressions (explanatory gestures, imitative movements, expressions of tension, spoken comments, cheers and the like, grasping of things or persons in front of them, etc.), including physiological reactions such as pulse count changes, has been established and described in thorough studies of film audiences (2). In this way it was possible to associate specific reaction phenomena with specific experiences. When they become immersed in the action, children watching television also forget to a great extent their momentary surroundings and their behaviour is very similar to that in a cinema, so in this respect it should be possible to take over these research results. There is a smaller degree of agreement in respect of manifestations of boredom and disassociation. In these cases the difference in the viewing situation and probably also in the type of programme is quite perceptible. Secondary activities, standing up, and leaving the room – things which are not only done in the family circle, but also occurred quite frequently in our groups, which were organized loosely as a matter of principle – are modes of conduct which violate cinema usage and, indeed, are hardly possible in practice. Since, in addition, the television set often remains switched on for hours on end and frequently presents

something which, for the moment, is not at all interesting, but offers the possibility that something better may be coming soon, in many cases even children keep only half an eye on the screen and do not really watch it. In this respect television may have more similarity to listening to the radio than to watching films.

In the two children's categories (I and II) – if we consider the programme as a whole – the degree of participation desirable for understanding was attained and the corresponding expressions and responses stimulated by the two comedies „Clown Ferdinand“ and „Robot Emil“ and also by the „Castle in Spain.“ The production „Winter Oak“ was left far behind. The reasons for this will be elaborated on below. The information group („Lyrebird“, „Going to Work“) will also be reported on separately.

1. In the case of the three positively assessed programmes, the requirements as to subject matter and content imposed by the conception calling for audience participation are satisfied to a high degree. Participation is possible only in that which lies within the range in which the viewer's own factual and human experience provides a satisfactory basis for new experiences. Otherwise, even with the best of programme designs, the result is disinterest or – especially in highly dynamic sequences – dichotomous behaviour which is very undesirable from the pedagogic standpoint, that is, highly emotional reactions coupled with failure of the powers of comprehension. The age-dependent, progressive extension of the range of things experienced and the development of the mental capacity to assimilate experiences govern the changes through which themes suitable for various ages pass during the phases of childhood.

The story of the two comedies proved easily understandable, and in both cases also interesting for children up to about 12: A little girl leaves her case behind when she goes off on holiday, and a helpful older friend makes every effort to get it back in her possession („Clown Ferdinand“); three children and a comical figure in the form of a robot go on an excursion in an old car and land up in a haunted castle. Both stories afford an opportunity to introduce a wealth of comical detail. Often, for a short time, there is some doubt as to whether the complications can be overcome, so that, in addition, there is an adequate amount of tension (how can the cycling clown get off the motorway again, or back to land from his sea voyage; when will the ghosts haunting the castle recognize each other, etc.). The ghosts, that popular children's game in which they can get cold shudders from their own spooky activities, brought the robot programme the immensely high rating of „Kinder-Krimi“ (children's detective story). The story of „Castle in Spain“, too, is built up on two elements which are known from motion pictures to form a firm foundation for success: the friendship between child and animal, and the acid test of a clearly assessable performance; above all, the latter is a basic theme for prepuberty.

2. But a subject befitting the age with a reliable basic idea and pleasing detail are not enough. Perhaps the essential, decisive thing for a good children's programme is the translation and resolution of all statements into visible action to an extent which far exceeds the needs of adults. The most important characteristic of the mode of experiencing things during childhood, including prepuberty – though to a somewhat less degree in prepuberty – is the dominance of visible action. This is due in the first place to the fact that at this age, when many parts of the psyche are still scarcely developed, the realities of experience are found primarily in the world around them; secondly, everything that is „below the surface“, in so far as it is already understandable and assimilable, is inextricably linked with its visible, „on-the-surface“ symptoms and is therefore often indicated, for instance, by speech and action, for which further proof is provided subsequently. The separation of the object and the concept takes place slowly and step by step, begins in childhood only in rudimentary form and continues to develop during puberty until the stage is reached, often not until shortly before maturity, which is regarded as normal for the adult. This psychological development, which is probably universal, finds very clear expression precisely in the discussion on motion pictures and television.

In this translation of statements into action, an important role is played by the characters and their relationship to each other. The main character must awake so much

affection in the child that the latter is prepared to participate in the action from the main character's standpoint. This is generally termed „identification“, but experience with motion pictures has shown that it is manifested in quite different forms and degrees; the same can be found in the case of television.

In both comedies the main character is not a child, but a figure long popular in the child's world: the buffoon who in reality is no more stupid than the clever people and whose abilities and final success can console children for many an adult reproof. Accordingly, in characterizing the clown, the children emphasize the abilities at least equally as much as his goodness: how fantastically and with what terrific speed he rides his bicycle, his endurance, and his „smartness“. They are even prepared to assign him magic powers, for example, when he raises a finger to find out which way the wind is blowing – an erroneous interpretation occasioned by all too great admiration. Some children have but little, and others a better idea of what a robot is; basically that is of subsidiary importance, he is also accepted as a modified clown and enjoys a lot of affection.

A main character frequently encountered in children's books, films and programmes, and one that generally also has a very positive effect, is a child of approximately the same age as the audience. In the present context they are the roughly 12-year old boys Pedro („Castle in Spain“) and Savushkin („Winter Oak“). The Spanish boy was a very strong identification figure. One of the symptoms of this is the fact that everything that happens is related only to him, which evidently goes far beyond the intentions of the director: The mothers revolting against the jury – probably intended by the director as an incidental humorous episode – are jealous, for instance, only of him. Pedro's tenacity or purpose is admired, and participation in his resolute efforts also gives the viewer the feeling that even a child, indeed even a poverty-stricken one – this was observed primarily in children from an orphanage – can reach his goal if only he puts his best foot forward. That is the positive statement of the programme, which has its roots in Pedro's own character. There is a negative one, which lies in the relationship between him and other persons who, with the exception of his father – and the mouse – prove themselves, in the opinion of the children, to be his opponents, his enemies and not – as seen by the enlightened adult – people who just happen to be what they are. In the oral and written accounts this enmity is given great weight; the other children jeered him and his helpers soon ran off and left him, a woman even threw a bucket of water over him (an episode mentioned remarkably frequently for its incidental nature), a bigger boy destroyed one of the castle towers, only when Pedro had a bicycle were they nice to him. The way the adults are depicted, the mother, the official during registration, the hard expression of the woman on the jury, are not calculated to ameliorate this experience of human enmity, or rather the childish interpretation. Some children regard the adults as people with very comical behaviour and occasionally they laugh at them. But this does not make them for the children caricatures of human qualities; they remain – and here lies the difference from the adult conception and the eminent importance of visible action – people who act in an unkind manner to Pedro and in no other way so that, owing to this presentation of the characters and the distribution of their roles, for the majority of the children – even those in the prepubertal stage – the programme has a quite pessimistic and, in part, depressing accent. In this basic mood lies an essential difference between that programme and „Clown Ferdinand“, in which the atmosphere is merry and relaxed, not only because of the jokes, but because the character of the helpful clown radiates kindness and goodwill. Expressed in the childish language of the description, this is depicted with the words: „He didn't look inside the case at all, and just because of a little case like that he rode all the way to the Baltic Sea.“ (10-year old boy). If we ignore the mouse, the only figure that provides compensation for the general trend is the father. This family-triangle relationship appears very genuine, and the children never overlook the fact that at least the father helps his son. Although he does not play a heroic role, he receives as much affection as Pedro himself. It is certainly not the function of a good children's programme to apply a sugar coating to the realities of life by the use of stereotyped ideal characters. But we should always ask ourselves how far the „authentic“ figures really serve the purpose of true-to-life authenticity, that is, authenticity which is also comprehensible for the children of the age-group at which the programme and its theme are directed, or whether the

realistic or even humoristic presentation is not also designed to offer something for adult tastes as well. However much we may approve of the father's authenticity being comprehensible also for children, the manner in which the mother is depicted is on the borderline, at least most definitely for German viewers. The object of the "humour" is her Spanish temperament. According to the children, she and the whole milieu of the programme seem very foreign. But that which has been experienced as foreign – although awareness of it can be produced by questions – cannot yet be used at this age to interpret obviously strange, different, peculiar things; the behaviour is measured by standards set on the basis of the children's own, German experience. Consequently the verdicts on the mother are disdainful and antagonistic: She has a sharp tongue, she is slovenly, comically dressed, her shouting is disturbing, she "always goes up in the air", she only kisses her son like mad when she wants to show off with him, etc. Just how negatively all this is assessed is shown by the mother's bad rank in the likes- and-dislikes scale. The average rating is improved on only occasionally when she is classified as a comical character, which brings slightly better marks, and appears less negative than she actually is.

The quite broad range of different feelings about the leader of Pedro's enemies, the big boy, demonstrates how the assessment of a character on the basis of the role he plays can occasionally overlap his direct effect on the viewer. For some children the dominating facet is the fact that up to Pedro's triumph he jeered and tormented the younger boy, and accordingly they hate him. Others appear to be so impressed by his riding tricks, and perhaps also because he is a young boaster, that they place him at the top of their "likes" list.

Savushkin, the boy in the "Winter Oak", aroused only moderate liking among our children and he is outpointed in this respect by his schoolmistress who, however, is a very kind-hearted partner for him. Though it is obvious from the very make-up of the scenario which of the two is the main character, this distribution of affection to the disadvantage of a child of the same age and in favour of an adult is so unusual, that it indicates that a good reception of the programme cannot be expected. Where lie the differences between "Winter Oak" and "Castle in Spain", which purely superficially have a lot in common? Both programmes – in contrast to the comedies – set out to go beyond the provision of entertainment and to impart psychological experience and foster emotions, and both are built up to a great extent on the close relationship between child and animal. It is precisely the difference in the manner in which the two programmes handle this relationship which permits the child-like to be weighed against the unchildlike.

The thing that enables a child to derive so much happiness from the relationship with an animal is the experience of having found a friend with whom he shares elementary urges and sensations (pleasure in games, in movement, the need to nestle down and to be together), and who at the same time needs his care and is dependent on him, as he himself is dependent, in turn, on grown-ups. The still uncomplicated psyche of the child persuades him that there is a rapport between him and the animal, his emotions can therefore develop harmoniously and without impairment – something which is denied him in many relationships with other human beings. In Pedro's case this ideal partnership is played out to the full. His love for the little mouse, enhanced by the dearth of other friends, is expressed in all the children's statements as a very positive message of the programme, the deep despair and great effort to rescue the mouse completely offsetting his temporary forgetfulness. If, like Pedro, you win a bicycle, at the beginning you "don't think about anything else", it was not a breach of faith. The fact that his love was given to a mouse of all things was not objected to by a single child; when adjectives were used, they said "his sweet little mouse." After all, the various fishes, dolphins and seals with which the children's film market is now teeming are no more attractive.

At best, any form of partnership between the Russian boy and the animals of the forest would have to be interpreted into the programme; even then it remains an aloof partnership and never appears in the picture as a real "being together." Savushkin observes the animals, he takes pleasure in them, he knows them, and quite surely he loves them, too, but they are

"the animals" in the plural and not a specific animal that assumes a personality. Moreover, the way he acts with the animals is for most children the behaviour of a dreamer, a boy with his head in the clouds, and at least for modern city children this smacks of childishness, ineffectualness, in direct contrast to Pedro's manly resoluteness. Certainly it is no mere coincidence, but an expression of this assessment of "childish", that all children, whether they themselves were 8 or 14, classified "Winter Oak" as a programme for a group younger than their own, but "Castle in Spain" fairly exactly for their own, with the exception of our youngest viewers, who suggested a higher group. The term "for younger children" – whether used by children or juveniles – has proved in our material to be a bad sign for the programme in question and almost always goes hand in hand with other negative assessments. On the other hand, the opinion that a programme demanded a little too much of the viewer simultaneously includes in many cases – though not always – the acknowledgement that it was of very high standard and must therefore be interpreted as respectful approval.

The intention of "Winter Oak" is to convey to its viewers the beauty and grandeur of nature. But in childhood – and well into the prepubertal years – no such relationship exists. The relationship which is presupposed in this case – something like a "feeling for nature" – is abstracted from individual phenomena, and is therefore asking too much of children at this development stage. Most of our viewers who were aged 12 to 13 found the walk through the forest, which for them contained only individual beautiful pictures, highly boring and even in circumscriptions they could find no sense in these sequences, apart from the very concrete idea that it was intended to show the boy's long trek to school and that in comparison they were better off.

The purpose of good children's programmes is doubtlessly to teach human, educational values in addition to providing entertainment. But the finding of a form consonant with the age involves substantial difficulties owing to the "dominance of visible action." For this reason a further two examples are cited, in which the translation of the motivation underlying the story into visible action of high, functional evidentiary value was done particularly effectively. The first is a scene from "Castle in Spain." On the market place in the midst of the other children, Pedro watches the "artistry" of the boaster, then borrows the latter's much too big bicycle and falls off, reaping the scornful jeers of the other children. In this instance it was clear to all the test children how great was his longing for a bicycle of his own, not only so that he could ride it, but above all to improve his position from that of an outsider, and this was his motive for doing his utmost to win the bicycle. A second "outsider situation" was also assimilated by the children, as a rule, with great delicacy of feeling, namely the scene in "Clown Ferdinand" when the little girl without her school hat is leaning against the railing of the steamer, alone and sad, and is then radiant with joy when Ferdinand brings her the case and hat. A 10-year old boy, for example, explained the underlying reasons as follows: "She (the girl) was sad because she had forgotten her hat. The others were all happy because they had hats. Then I except they lined up to have their photograph taken (his own idea!) and it doesn't fit in if one of them hasn't got a hat. Because she was not allowed to join in with the others." This is how simple and tangible human relations are at this age, and this is how they must be presented.

3. The fact that the more profound associations are still firmly bound up with realities and that dissociation is only in a rudimentary stage is encountered repeatedly in all spheres, e. g. in the understanding of comicality. Quite superficial comicality, like comical movement such as falling down a slope with a bicycle, a chase, the shaking of people in a car on a bumpy road, is greeted, of course, with great glee. The demands made on the powers of understanding are a whole degree higher in the case of, say, the cycling clown speeding along the motorway or the encounter between his old-fashioned giant radio and the tiny transistor set round the young lady's neck. In these instances they are required to perceive something non-visible, that is, a contrast; in the first case it is conduct deviating from normal, and in the second the contrasting age and size of the two radio sets. Modern city children know all about motorways and radios, the contrasts were immediately obvious, and the jokes were appreciated

in the intended manner. Where appropriate experience is lacking, similar jokes remain merely superficial and may be misinterpreted. This happened in the case of the old-fashioned furniture which the clown carries down to the beach. In all children's groups it was assumed – in contrast to the otherwise correct interpretation of the clown's character – that Ferdinand had stolen this old junk somewhere in order to build a house on the beach. The allusion to the ugly furniture in many rooms rented for holidays is something completely alien to children because things like that do not bother them. Perhaps that allusion is completely outdated in this era of economic miracles.

To appreciate the import of the comicality in the robot comedy, which lies in the grotesque robot – ghost contrast and hence in the meeting of two entirely different worlds, can probably be classified as an even greater achievement of "abstraction" in comparison to the examples already cited. Here the path and slow progress of understanding in children of various ages and intelligence could be very well observed. The children unanimously agreed that if one of the other excursionists had dressed up in historical clothes it would not have been anything like so funny. Then follow external symptoms – mostly contrasts – as reasons for the comicality: "because he was four-cornered," "because he had those antennae," "because with him there was something different looking through the veil," "a robot in a nightshirt, that's funny". Only a few children saw anything humorous in the fact that the ghost was "oldfashioned" and the robot a "modern invention."

The attractive idea of the castellan, whose biggest sorrow was that there were no spooks haunting his castle, trying to photograph the robot apparition might almost be called a psychological jest. During the screenings there was always one child or another who could not grasp why the castellan chased after the ghost instead of running away. The majority of the 10-year olds, however, already had sufficient psychological perception and mental flexibility; those who were "slow on the up-take" were immediately put on the right track, as in the following exchange: "The castellan is catching him!" – "No, he's only taking a photograph of him." The fact that caricaturizing comicality, in which the figures are merely vehicles, so to speak, which serve to give abstract qualities form and shape again, is beyond children has already been touched upon and is evident from our arguments as a whole (cf. p. 3 et seq.).

4. A clearly recognizable thread to the story, which is continuously spun out, main characters who appear in the picture frequently so that in their persons the basic theme is picked up ever and again, these are, roughly speaking, the pattern which has proved most successful in children's programmes, and not by any means by chance, but for psychological reasons. For this pattern fits in with the participating mode of comprehension which is closely bound up with what is happening at the moment and progresses as the action develops. The younger the children are, the more difficult they find it to relate things which are far apart or find the connection between elements of a story which begin at different points.

In "Winter Oak" the pictures of the assembling class and the cut to Savushkin still walking through the forest pick up a thread and hold it right through to the conversation in the classroom. Up to this point everything is still clear; the rather frequent cuts also serve to hold attention to the main theme – it is the story of a latecomer. The later walk through the forest breaks the thread, and no new one becomes visible. The rapid series of individual episodes are disconnected because, as already mentioned, the big holdfast of the underlying message – the grandeur and beauty of nature to which the boy introduces his schoolmistress – does not exist for children.

At the beginning we had some misgivings that the apparently not very closely related adventures of the clown would also resolve into disconnected episodes and hence only amuse the children to a limited extent. The opposite was the case. The clown and, to just as great a degree, the case until it reaches its destination always turn up at once in the picture in every episode and, to the child's mind, provide the necessary continuity perfectly adequately. The programme is just as gripping as it is humorous. This experience is at the same time an indication of how simply and uncomplicatedly that sort of thing can act as an element to link up the whole. There were continual questions and shouts: "Where's he got his case now?" "But he's still got his case!" noted throughout our observation record.

The main theme of "Castle in Spain", as demonstrated by the intensity of participation in the appropriate places, is built up in exemplary manner; on the other hand, the interposed sequences sketching the milieu or human peculiarities are undesirable ballast from the children's viewpoint – for two reasons: They are distracting. Since the critical comment is not appreciated, they do not know how to fit in. The main story, however, which is highly interesting, is held up, the flow is interrupted. This aversion is increased by the long-persisting rhythms of children's modes of experience which offer resistance to any abrupt seesawing to and fro such as the injection of sequences alien to the main theme or all too sharp cuts, unless the latter are used with moderation and as a justifiable means of enhancing tension. Some observations provide arguments in favour not only of making the passages relatively long, but also of not making the programme itself shorter than a certain minimum length. Children quite often say: "That was too short." And they do not always give the impression that they would have liked to be entertained longer, but that they feel that in such a short time it was impossible to present the experience on a sufficiently broad basis. Naturally there are also other reasons why a children's programme should not be less than a certain length.

It is apparent from what has been said so far about the make-up that the transitions are critical points in a children's programme and should therefore be designed with special care. We shall now mention a few "mishaps" illustrating a few difficulties often encountered with children: The clown's plan to build himself a home on the beach is prepared for by having him watch other holiday-makers in their sand castles. But then there is an abrupt change of scene and we see him staggering along with the old bedstead. The conclusion already mentioned in another context – "He's pinched it!" – shows that the transition was too abrupt and the child lacks a picture showing him where the stuff came from. At the end of the boat trip, on the other hand, the sequence cannot be drawn out long enough. The children have just seen that the clown is soaking wet and will have to go to bed dripping wet, and then – while he is still half in the water – the film switches to a new and entirely different episode, to the grandads in the bus. Cry from the audience: "Where's his bed gone?" It is known from motion pictures that some children's thoughts dwell for a long time on a picture that impresses them, one might say they "get stuck". For instance, as the robot was fastening the car with a chain in front of the castle one boy called out: "He's tying it up with the sausages!" because shortly before a chain of sausages had fallen out of the tourists' lunch basket and been whisked away by a dog. Just as interposed subsidiary episodes confuse, so does scenery that plays no part in the story and is therefore "superfluous." When the clown, following the grandpa-omnibus episode, makes his way through a row of parked cars which merely serves as a setting, the children anticipate: "Now he's hoing to take a car!" We could add a long series of similar misinterpretations which are often very informative with regard to what children read into what is presented on the screen.

5. It is an accepted fact that when children undergo an experience they can hardly react in any other way than to show it by some form of expression, and they need a highly expressive form of presentation which they can then interpret – in keeping with their own behaviour – with great talent. The easy perceptibility which is necessary to appeal to children and ensure their real comprehension may now and again be unbearable for adults – and, as we shall see, even more so for juveniles. In the one children's programme Pedro has to roll in the sand out of sheer happiness at having recovered his mouse, and big tears have to roll down the castellan's cheeks when he recounts that his castle has not a single decent ghost. And the fact that during the prize-giving ceremony Pedro is still sweating from exertion, and also from excitement, is equally as important as his delight at winning the bicycle finding expression in his "whizzing around the village for hours." A more technical, but nevertheless no less important prerequisite for the intensity of expression is the clarity of the picture itself.

Provided that the picture is sufficiently expressive, it is of subsidiary importance whether only the picture or the picture and speech are used to convey an impression. If the picture is too inexpressive, it is generally impossible to save the situation with the spoken word, least of all with a commentary.

The desire for the people to speak – in the form of a dialogue as real people do – is a wish that the children voice over and over again. But especially in the case of a programme built up on the silent film pattern, the optical effectiveness of which has therefore been carefully worked out, this wish is soon overridden by the expressiveness of the picture. It was especially interesting that in the case of both "Clown Ferdinand" and the Czech cartoon programme "The Tomcat and the Telescope" (not one of the prize-winners) the children first of all, immediately after the screening, believed that the characters had spoken, and secondly introduced dialogue into their recapitulations without noticing it. This permits the conclusion that when the picture is highly expressive, the viewer himself provides dialogue for the characters. Old silent films, especially Chaplin productions, are frequently seen on television by children and are classified, after adventure programmes and animal films, as the best fare that is offered. This popularity is so great that it is even transferable. The initial scene in "Robot Emil", which was filmed in jerky, silent-film tempo, was a big success at all screenings, and the reason always given was that it was just as funny as Charlie Chaplin.

With the exception of "Clown Ferdinand," all the prize-winning programmes were presented to the children with synchronized speech, i. e. with a text based on the scenario and recorded on tape; this, of course, was not an ideal synchronization. It was shown unequivocally that the somewhat unsatisfactory speech did not play a decisive role, if the programme found approval otherwise – in the case of "Robot Emil" it did not affect the success at all, and in that of "Castle in Spain" only slightly – but that it was immediately given as one of the important reasons for disapproval when the appeal was slight in other respects ("Winter Oak," some of the information programmes). We also screened some of the non-prize-winning Prix Jeunesse programmes for children of appropriate age groups, and always with the result that, if the theme was interesting and the picture expressive at the same time, the interpretation was also good and the lack of understandable speech was felt relatively little.

The answer to the question as to the importance of language, which is so important for international exchange, can be summarized as follows: Speech belongs to the complete picture of human beings, even for the child. However, owing to their own need for expressing feelings and their own wealth of expression children are highly capable of reading expression, so that there would be very good chances for a type of programme built up, not on speech, but on the language of pantomime. This should offer better prospects of success than the application of commentaries. A commentary is necessarily given from a distance and therefore has less participative effect than dialogue. But children do not want to view from a distance, they want to participate in the experience.

Effects obtained by technical, film and camera manipulations, with the exception of the already mentioned initial sequence of "Robot Emil", were understandable and attractive to only a few of the eldest (13 to 14) in our children's groups; this is especially true of the "aerial shots" in "Winter Oak". The others in this age group, and above all the younger children, were at a loss. They found that the "circumnavigation" of the oak by the camera was much too long, and referring to the way home they said: "the same thing over and over again, nothing but trees and branches." The tilting of the camera during the snowball fight was "quite nice", but they did not appreciate the idea of the trick, or only after they had been given quite a lot help. The picture of the judges ("Castle in Spain") moving towards the audience scared some of the younger viewers; others found it merely funny. We did not gain the impression that this trick – if it was at all necessary – helped them to see through Pedro's eyes. On the whole, only meaningful camera movements that are simple and clear and also moderate cuts are probably the best suited for children's programmes.

6. It is certainly no coincidence that of the submitted Information and Instruction programmes none was found worthy of a full prize and only "commendatory awards" were given. The fact that, as explained in connection with the Games and Entertainment group, participation is the basic phenomenon of assimilation of what is presented in films during

childhood, makes it appear questionable from the outset whether and to what extent a programme will be accepted, which does not picture life as a whole, but singles out just one facet, i. e. the "instructive" side, as it is often termed for the benefit of children. And the fact that children, too, want to learn and that also for them learning is quite simply part of life is not affected or questioned by raising this problem. The two commended programmes which we studied differ so much from each other that it will be more profitable to consider them separately. "The Lyrebird" is a nature study programme and intended for the younger age category; "Going to Work" is a vocational guidance programme for Category II. The lyrebird is an Australian species. The first question that arises therefore is how far our innately animal-loving children are interested in birds at all and whether that interest extends to foreign birds. This question as to the interest in the subject matter cannot be answered with a generalization. Absolutely all the plus-points scored by this programme result from the fact that the subject is an animal. Some of the children call themselves birdlovers and to prove it say, for example, that they have a whole album full of bird pictures at home. These children also describe several things about the bird which they like: its beautiful plumage, the nest, the young bird. Opinions diverge as to whether its calls are pleasant twittering or horrible screaming. Moreover, more than half of the children are of the opposite opinion, which was expressed by a 9-year old boy, in answer to the question of whether he would also have watched this film at home, in the clear formulation: "No, because it was only about birds. That doesn't interest me." Those who are in principal birdlovers are also divided into two groups: a few who prefer foreign birds, which they feel are more interesting because they more seldom have a chance to see them, while the majority would rather have seen a programme about a peacock or a stork because they already know these birds and would like to learn more about them.

When the majority of those who like animals – but not birds – are asked what animals they would prefer, two sorts of answer are received: first, "more sensational" animals which give promise of something adventurous – elephants, lions, monkeys or even prehistoric animals – and secondly the children correct their statements, saying that when they mentioned the animal programmes they liked they did not mean "that sort of thing," but "Lassie," "Fury," "The Boy and his Little Bear." "They must be more exciting, the stories. I've written down here 'boring and instructive,'" was the declaration of a 9-year old when he handed over his questionnaire. The rather detailed complaints show very clearly what the children missed: "because it was always the same stuff," "he doesn't do anything but hop around all the time," "over and over again, the nest and the bird playing around," and then the fact that it was always "pecking away at the ground."

The programme is built up in the style of the conventional documentary, with various episodes from the life of the bird, which are explained by a narrator who pretends to take the viewer on a walk through the woods. The episodes are disconnected and the transitions mostly take the form of a reappearance of the narrator, who continues his lecture. The pictures are only moderately clear – the bird often but poorly defined against the background – and in this sense they are not expressive and enhance the monotony of the content.

The following conversation took place in the first group, the only one to whom we showed the unsynchronized version, but in the course of the further studies it proved that translation of the narration into German did not improve the paleness and paucity of expression of the programme and this effect was therefore primarily due to the picture: "You saw that about the nests, and if you pay really good attention, you can learn something" – "What can you do with anything like that, when they speak English?" – "Well, you can see the birds, look!" – "But you don't know what they're up to." To know "what they're up to" is, of course, a basic requirement for an information programme.

The narrator was not popular because, in the children's opinion, he did much too much talking, which in their language also means that he never took an active part in events (cf. on the other hand p. 11). Furthermore, some statements also indicate that he was not personally likeable owing to his rather obtrusive nature and also to the pretence of taking a walk through the woods, which is not strictly accurate, since the events extend over several months.

The amount of information absorbed (learning effect) was quite small as far as could be determined immediately after the screening. In the recapitulations, descriptions applying more or less to all birds, and not to the peculiarities of this particular bird, predominated. The significance of the dance, for instance, one of the chief characteristics of this bird, which is shown in great detail in the picture and is explained in words, could not be correctly interpreted by the children. They made guesses, either tending to the function that dancing has for them themselves ("because he wants to be merry," "because he likes it," "when he's fed his young (= after work), he does that sort of dance") or to pairing dances they have seen fairly often in other programmes or films ("when a hen bird comes," "when he wants to get married."). The things that were understood and retained were not always the same in the various groups, but almost always the facts relating to the young bird were correct, probably because it attracted the most interest. An interesting subsidiary observation was that none of the children knew what a lyre is, so that the title meant nothing; and for this reason the description of the tail display was correspondingly scanty. The word is known only in connection with "Leierkasten" (barrel organ) and the "Leiern" (monotonous reading) which teachers criticize.

The programme was produced for school television, but we – and this should be expressly emphasized – tested it as part of a normal television programme, since this is what the Prix Jeunesse concentrates on and not really on programmes for schools. If we sum up the effect under these non-school screening conditions of the specifically documentary make-up of "The Lyrebird", which makes no concessions to feature film requirements, scarcely a viewer is left – the exceptions are the passionate birdlovers who are satisfied to get to know new types of birds – who did not find the programme boring. In this sense it serves as confirmation of the very serious and already sufficiently deep-rooted prejudice "instructive = boring". Genuine and unfalsified documentary material is undoubtedly of educational value and should not be thrown overboard without further ado. But the nature of the child's interest and understanding gives rise at least to great programme-design difficulties even if it does not go so far as to make concessions imperative. Our experience with children under normal programme conditions shows that "information" can definitely be absorbed from entertainment programmes. In the case of a group of pupils from the higher classes of elementary schools, for example, a travelogue made in the form of a personal experience, including the inevitable personal mishaps, far excelled a factually not uninteresting but impersonal documentary as far as the applause and its liveliness was concerned, and consequently probably surpassed it also in respect of the permanence and depth of understanding of the impressions.

Vocational-guidance programmes are naturally directed at a specific audience, that is, at those for whom selection of a profession is a topical question. For this reason we showed "Going to Work" mainly to 13 to 14-year olds, but also to younger children and juveniles. On the whole we discovered that, as was to be expected, interest in vocational-guidance programmes is great shortly before leaving school, although there are others – one is inclined to classify them as hopelessly disinterested – who find such programmes boring on principle, giving such reasons as: "Young people are more interested in musical programmes" (13-year old girl about to move up to the top class in elementary school).

More frequently this particular vocational-guidance programme was not well received because there was no interest in the nursing profession. In this attitude the lead was taken precisely by those who were most directly affected, namely the 13 to 14-year old girls, with the exception of a small group which gave the programme a particularly good reception. These few girls also said almost unanimously that they had admired the profession for a long time and considered it a possible choice for themselves. The small amount of interest exhibited by many of the 13 to 14-year olds was partly due to the fact that they had already decided on another profession, but more frequently it was said that of all things they did not want to become a nurse in any circumstances, the chief reason being: "you have to look after and care for other people, and especially old people", and in addition to this unpleasant sort of work "you are on your feet all day", that is, you have to work hard. The financial aspect was also mentioned, but was more of subsidiary importance. The same negative attitude to the nursing profession

was expressed in some of the praise, in the admiration for the superior human qualities of the nurses, which was uttered in a "not for me" tone, justifying the praise by saying that you could see "that there are girls who like the profession" or are willing to pursue it.

From the comments of almost all our viewers for whom there was no question of a defensive reaction like that just described – the younger children, the 13 to 14-year old boys, juveniles who are already working – it is evident that a nurse's job is considered interesting, but little is known about it and they were appreciative of being given a better insight into it. Apart from the general interest, it was also said that the programme was mainly for girls faced with choosing a profession. While a large proportion of these girls asked: why nursing of all things, why not a programme about, say, a secretary, which would be much more important and more apt for us, the "unaffected" persons found that precisely this programme was good and useful because it shows "that there are other professions besides hairdressing."

It was acknowledged almost without exception that the information itself is good, i. e. clear, lucid, well rounded, touching on all important things.

The make-up of the programme takes into account, with good success, the peculiarities of the age-group it is intended to reach. The classification "boring" applies not to the make-up, but primarily to the subject matter. The actress playing the part of Pamela, the probationer nurse, is likeable. By far the majority of the information is presented as her experiences. We see her applying to the matron for a job, what she has to do in the various phases of her training, the important things about her work, how she passes her examination, etc. The attractively presented vocational training of this particular young nurse, who aroused the sympathies of the audience to some extent, formed the content of the subsequent statements, the main items being the instruction in administering injections, using an orange and the dummy, and the work in the operating theatre. On the other hand, the points raised by the reporter in the direct interviews with the girl are almost entirely neglected in the recapitulations, despite the fact that they are such important things as the duration of training, future prospects, relationship to death. If the reporter was mentioned at all, he was almost always "disliked", which, of course, must be translated as "superfluous." He, too, "just talked" and by stepping into the picture he impaired the illusion of undergoing training together with Pamela. The fact that, despite this far-reaching transposition into a form permitting audience participation, extreme proposals were still advanced, which called for complete resolution of such programmes into feature-film form, merits only incidental mention since these cases were exceptions.

The good choice of the actress for the part of the young probationer nurse was also a substantial contribution to the solution of this difficult problem of familiarizing young viewers – in so far as it can have any appeal for them – with the high human qualities of the nursing profession on the one hand, and of giving the presentation a factual and unsentimental note on the other. A whole catalogue of qualities which a good nurse must have can be compiled from the children's statements, and they include not only the quite general and customarily cited ones such as dedication, helpfulness, loving kindness, but also quite specific qualities derived from Pamela's nature and actions: "paying attention to even the smallest things," "how the nurse knows what's to be done," "how they carefully lifted the sick man out of bed," "how the nurses have to do their jobs at an operation," and it was also called "a many-sided profession". This admiration is not infrequently followed by the conclusion that as many people as possible should see such a programme so that this profession would again be more respected. This gratifying realization can be attributed to a high degree to the lifelike presentation.

Nothing is worse for a vocational-guidance film than when the viewer has the impression that he is seeing an advertising, and not an information film. The above-mentioned "defensive reaction" of many 13 to 14-year old girls permits the conclusion that the very choice of theme aroused fears of propaganda for the nursing profession. In reply to a direct question as to whether the programme was in the nature of advertizing, affirmation and negation were encountered in all groups at first. After brief consideration, however, all the viewers decided that it was characterized by great reticence and objectivity. This is partly thanks to the fact that Pamela is an "average person" and not an ideal being and that, in addition to interesting

things, every-day occurrences are also shown, so that the impression is given that everything is shown and nothing palliated, and furthermore marked sentimentality is avoided equally as much as advertizing by means of the shining chrome nimbus familiar from some hospital films. There were individual objections that the programme was very sober and that they would have preferred to see more about the relations between nurses and patients, but in view of the impression of imparting factual and non-advertizing information, the soberness of this English programme probably struck the right note. If the programme has any advertizing effect, it lies in the above-mentioned increase in respect, but not in any urging to choose this profession.

7. To conclude this treatment of the children's programmes, we will summarize briefly the extent to which the allocation of the prizes by age groups corresponds to the tests with groups of children: Since the age categories are to be understood in the sense of main targets and not as unconditional restrictions and limits, the question as to the suitability for the ages concerned can be answered in the affirmative for "Clown Ferdinand" (I), "The Lyrebird" (I) and "Going to Work" (II). The "Clown" is classified as quite "childish" by many of the elder children (from 12 upwards). The defects of "The Lyrebird" are not really age-specific; they are also defects for the next higher age group and would even disturb many juveniles. The target audience of the nursing programme is defined by the situation with regard to choice of profession.

In the "Castle in Spain" (II) there are certain tensions between story, themes, mood content and overall make-up. While the story and themes fit in well with the 12-year old's mode of experience, and are in fact accessible to somewhat younger children, the characterization of the persons and the structure call for a rather aloof viewer, which we can expect to find, at the earliest, only at the upper limit of the category.

In the case of "Robot Emil" (II) the opposite transpired. The children of Category I were most enthusiastic and demonstrated quite good comprehension. From the age of 12 upwards there is an increase in the number who call this programme "childish", chiefly because they ascribe to it such qualities as unreality, exaggeration and fairy-story fabulousness. True, the children between 8 and 10 also assert that they do not want to see any more fairy stories, but they still let themselves be carried along completely naively by the stream of events and if they find the performance full of life, they do not regard it as a fairy story. Even in answer to leading questions, the younger children reply that it was a lot more natural than in a fairy story, and in any case it was a funny programme. This naive appreciation that the same standards of reality cannot be applied to everything is lost in prepuberty and gives way – as far as tangible references are concerned – to a thoroughly pedantic desire for reality. One feels one is no longer a child and wants to prove it, so in no circumstances can one succumb to the attraction of a fairy story. This also impairs the pleasure in "Robot Emil", who loses some of his comicality as a result of this attitude.

According to our observations, "Winter Oak" (I), and especially the second part, demands a more mature audience. Following our experience with children, we showed this programme to a group of juveniles and found a receptive audience (cf. p. 14, 21, 22).

Conversely, "Girl of Ainu" (III), which made a poor showing with the juveniles, was given a good reception by the elder children. (cf. p. 19).

II. Juveniles (Age Category III)

Our test groups provided confirmation of the observation made repeatedly in all studies hitherto that juveniles have a certain reticence towards television, include it as a matter of course in their habitual activities without being particularly zealous viewers, and are not sparing in their criticism of the programme schedule as a whole and its various parts. The average viewing frequency calculated from the juveniles' statements is 2–3 times a week, somewhat higher for some of the set-owners (up to daily), and mostly lower for non-owners (down to rarely and almost never). No clear sociological differences are apparent.

The programmes they claim to prefer include the entire adult programme, but with a marked leaning to those types of programme which, by Prix Jeunesse classification standards, belong to the "Games and Entertainment" category (70% of those named; several nominations were permissible and considered in the calculations) and correspondingly lower figures for "Information and Instruction" (30%). Within the "Games and Entertainment" category there is again a marked preference for dramatized programme forms. If the 70% "Games and Entertainment" nominations are subdivided to take account of this, dramatized forms make up 58% (order of frequency of nomination: feature films and television plays, excluding detective dramas; various forms of theatre show; detective dramas) and non-dramatized forms only 12% (order: "entertainment programmes" – without any clear definition of what is meant – quizzes, concerts, musical programmes, shows, cabaret; for the last-named types of programme the figures are less than 1%). The 30% information nominations break down into: topical and political 11%, documentary and cultural 8%, sports 7%, educational 4%. The accuracy of these figures for the individual forms may be questionable, although they largely coincide with those known from the literature (3), because the terminology used by the juveniles is not always unequivocal, and overlapping in their classifications is hardly avoidable – what is a documentary and what is a political programme? are sports, from the standpoint of the juvenile, information or entertainment? Nevertheless, the broad outline of the trend is clearly perceptible. Compared with the children their horizon has been decisively enlarged and among the informational interests, which after all account for 30%, it is mainly new fields that are encountered. The preference for dramatized forms has some similarity with the children's partiality for the feature-film type of programme, but here again the variety of different forms is greater and of another character (television plays, feature films, old films, plays, operas, operettas) and the feature film is now far from being the ideal pattern to the extent that it was.

One result of the tests, which is very characteristic of the juvenile age, is that the assessment of the prize-winning programmes by the individual groups, and also within the groups, was so divergent that it was not possible to pass a general verdict on any single programme and to say that the one was given a good and the other a bad reception. The non-prize-winning programme "Format 16/20", which proved informative after a first trial run, was included in the investigations. The following will be devoted primarily to examining the reasons for the marked divergence in the judgments and in this way to demonstrating the various tendencies in the way juveniles receive a programme.

1. The simplest question to answer is how far the tested programmes catered to the interests of juveniles with regard to their substance and theme.

The first thing to be said in this connection is that among the programmes to which prizes were awarded there was no real entertainment programme, that is, something comparable to the two comedies in the children's categories. This is in accordance with the Prix Jeunesse statutes, which refer to children's and youth programmes in Categories I and II, but to "Educational youth programmes" (over 15 years) in Category III. The educational intent was sensed by our test persons – by no means always with a negative reaction – and in this connection it was frequently said that the screened programmes did not really fit in with the normal television schedule, but were suitable for an educational programme, school television, group discussion or the afternoon programme, or that the particular programme was quite interesting to the respondent concerned, but would certainly not appeal to the "broad masses".

The only experience we can report on in the entertainment sector is that gained with the musical portion of "Format". The popular hit tunes, considered on their own, were very well liked by all juveniles almost without exception; for a certain type of person they were the only worthwhile thing we had to offer. There is a good possibility of cultivating good taste by well-arranged programmes of this type. In the weighing up of hit tunes, the decisive factors were the "type" of star and the formal make-up. All groups unanimously gave the best rating to the rhythmically impressive but reserved number "Jonny Guitar", in which the style of performance was optically stressed, e. g. by the rhythmic play of sheafs of strings across the stage and by

the semi-historical, imaginative costumes of the three young male performers. The worst rating was given to a parody on star-fever à la Presley or Beatles, a performance which adults find witty and which incorporated quite good ideas with regard to the utilization of motion-picture techniques. The reason for this disapproval, which was also found in all groups, was shown by our analysis of the statements to lie in the parodic form, and this is confirmed by similar experience with motion pictures. Juveniles have little taste for gross exaggeration and deviation from reality, and therefore find this type of comedian ridiculous.

Considering this great approbation for the musical part of "Format", it is astonishing that so few popular hit programmes are included among the preferred ones. One possible explanation is that popular music is still primarily the domain of radio and record and that television has not yet caught up with these competitors. It is also possible that the optical presentation does not always have the same appeal as in the case of "Format." On another occasion we showed a group of girls a television programme with famous record stars, with the result that the girls were bitterly disappointed at the appearance and comportment of their idols, and at the entire make-up of the stage on which they appeared.

In their true function as educational programmes, the tested programmes offered subjects and themes which were highly interesting to our juveniles. If there was anything at all in these programmes which was appreciated relatively unanimously and even gratefully, it was the endeavour to cater specifically to juveniles, to introduce themes which young people think about and to which they really have contact. They were programmes "for young people." The opposite is usually asserted of normal programmes; many juvenile viewers feel they are left out and neglected.

In these approving assessments it is said, above all, that the programme concerned "gives food for thought," that the posed "problem" is good; so the main accent is on improving knowledge of human affairs, clarification of vital questions, the solution and discussion of which is more important to the juvenile than increasing his factual knowledge. In the process of maturation, the juvenile is on the threshold of or has already taken the first steps into "life", and he demands that what he is offered should have a content, i. e. a value for his future life, although for a life as he conceives it from the juvenile standpoint. In this sense he is definitely receptive to education and the right seed falls on fertile soil.

The "good basic idea" was responsible for most of the plus-points given to "Longing for Companions" (e. g. "very good: theme as a whole; it works and applies not only to correspondence course students, but to all who feel lonely," electrician, 20, m.) Similarly, the good formulation of the problem is an important factor affecting the good reception of the topical reports in "Format", especially the second one ("very good: that the problem of young people in general was dealt with for a change, and that it was fair and square and perhaps a little tough. In it's way the film was simply unique. It attacks you." Vocational training school pupil, 16, m). Appreciation of the theme was also expressed in the case of "Spring Rain," which depicts a decisive meeting between two young people, "Winter Oak," in which the transformation in the young schoolmistress and her realization that the learning of factual knowledge is not everything excites interest, and "Girl of Ainu" ("people repel a person from another part of the country." Apprentice, 15, m).

This high valuation of current problems of human life affecting young people, however, by no means precludes interest in good information. Familiarization with the possibility of further education by means of correspondence courses was often cited as a type of information that is of value to young people, and it was also described as interesting to see how things are in Japan in this respect ("Idea good: To show the problem of a person who seeks education and is prevented by social obstacles from obtaining regular higher education." Higher-grade secondary school pupil, 19). An important part of the desire for greater knowledge is the wish to get to know other countries (far-distant lands) and the conditions there; appreciation of this aspect is repeatedly expressed, e. g. in connection with "Longing for Companions" and "Girl of Ainu", in the latter case often coupled with regret that the documentary portion of the programme, which depicts the Ainu, a minority of low social standing, as an object of tourist curiosity, was so short.

The only programme in respect of which judgements clashed irreconcilably, even with regard to subject and content, was "What is a Melody," Leonard Bernstein's informatory introduction to the structure of musical compositions. This programme was given very good ratings by secondary school pupils and a group of young working people, while in another group the juveniles – and not only the working section – left the premises immediately after the screening with much protestation and were so repelled that they did not appear on the following evenings (as an explanation for why they stayed away, such radical, youthful remarks as: "Otherwise, if it's the same sort of stuff again, I'd smash up the whole box of tricks.") One of the chief reasons was what these juveniles considered to be too long, and therefore "unbearable", classical musical examples. The remaining members of this group reacted less violently, but nevertheless predominantly antagonistically, while a few also approved and tried to change the other's minds. This group has its own "band," which seems to play an important role in their group life; so its members are definitely interested in music, but at least some of them specialize entirely on jazz and are consequently intolerant of everything else. Here we have the first manifestations of specialization on quite specific interests, which already begins in youth and applies not only to music, but also to other fields. The approving juveniles praised precisely the same musical examples, both the good performance and the illustrative selection.

2. Approval of the subject and theme in no way guarantees that the programme itself will be accepted. Equal importance attaches to clothing the youth-oriented content in a youth-oriented programme make-up. "Longing for Companions," for example, failed to gain approval in many instances owing to the commentary only; at least many of our juveniles gave this as a cogent and, for them, decisive reason. Such a one-sided formal justification would be inconceivable in children. The great importance which must be ascribed to formal make-up in children's programmes, too, is due to the fact that children simply cannot apprehend anything which does not permit participation, so in this case the formal production requirements are more a means to an end than an end in themselves. In youth, this uniform and more or less single-track mode of experiencing and comprehending splits up; access to the material offered is possible along several tracks simultaneously, including the purely formal one. The form becomes largely something to be assessed separately, something independent, even though, in the final analysis, it remains a vehicle for the content; in our context we have nothing to do with abstract art. The juveniles' requirements as to form are extraordinarily numerous and varied, since they are no longer dependent on their powers of comprehension as in childhood, but on the much more highly differentiated conditions of feeling that they are being addressed personally, out of which grows receptiveness and deeper penetration. What has been said so far has probably made it sufficiently apparent that what we mean by make-up is an age-oriented, and not a formal-aesthetic principle, although the dividing lines are not always sharply defined, since in the final analysis it is a question of appeal.

The splitting up of the uniform, childlike mode of cognition during youth is also manifested in a more conscious differentiation between entertainment and instructive experiences, the latter in the already mentioned sense of improving knowledge of human affairs. Pleasure in entertainment and the seeking of a content for their lives are the principal reasons why juveniles go to cinemas and watch television. Yet although generally a difference is made at this stage between entertainment and experience, and occasionally, in fact, the one is played off against the other when formulating a judgement, it is precisely the intimate permeation of the one by the other that is characteristic of programmes which appeal to juveniles, and this also finds expression in the preference for dramatizations and the simultaneous stress on "good" films, plays, etc., by which primarily fullness of content and non-entertaining is meant. Especially the make-up of an educational programme must combine both; it must be entertaining and at the same time impart instructive experience and information.

Accordingly, our next question is: What, in the tested programmes, proved an effective programme make-up in respect of entertainment on the one hand, and instructive experience and information on the other, or what gave cause for disapproval? We would like to point out again that in no circumstances can we speak of approval or disapproval on the part of juven-

iles in general. Since the mode of response and the access paths to what is offered have branched in youth, the standards have also become non-uniform; one juvenile measures by the entertainment value, another by the content, and the third decides exclusively on the basis of whether the make-up appeals to him. Among other things, here lies an explanation for the great divergence of assessments. The clearest connection between the priority assigned to a certain standard and other factors is that existing between the standard and the level of education of the juvenile concerned; the greater the divergence may be between age and maturity, the less important becomes the exact age, and there are also no obvious dependencies on sex or, say, television consumption. On the other hand, a certain individual attitude can mostly be traced throughout all the programmes seen by a given juvenile.

2 (a). Of a programme that is just sufficiently entertaining to be accepted, many juveniles also demand a relatively high degree of visible action. In this respect the „Girl of Ainu“ was given the best rating (prize for “Games and Entertainment”). This programme contains a whole series of feature-film elements. It traces chronologically an important phase in the lives of the main characters. The girl’s dissatisfaction with the shameful conditions in the Ainu reservation leads up to the first climax, to her flight (train journey). Due to its subject matter, the broad description of life on the farm is attractive to many juveniles and has a certain peak in the birth of a foal. There follows – with brief preparation – a phase of high tension: the outbreak of the volcano, when Mitsu rescues the foal from the swamp. This courageous deed simultaneously brings the solution; she has won through, the foal is presented to her and she is recognized as a capable co-worker of equal standing. However, many things and important points are learnt only from the commentary; this is considered a weakness also by juveniles.

“Spring Rain” (commendatory award “Games and Entertainment”) was often described as boring and lacking in content on the grounds that it has no “real story.” In this case the “action” is psychological and it is necessary to have an interest – which is present in most, but not all, juveniles – in the portrayal of human relations for their own sake to feel any tension in what is really a very consistent working-up to the central point, the scene in which the enamoured but egotistical young man, in a fit of rage, kicks to pieces the lovingly made toy of a small boy, and his disappointed girl friend turns her back on him. This programme lasts only 10 minutes. The fact that now and again, as with the children, its shortness was also associated with the lack of a “real story”, that for some – but as we shall see not for all – juveniles the playing out of the action to several and various situations is one of the essentials, and therefore individual episodes more in the nature of a short story are not generally liked. Lack of action was also one of the faults found with “Longing for Companions” (prize for “Information and Instruction”) although the focal point is a human destiny, and in fact that of a juvenile.

Entertainment for juveniles, however, comprises a lot more than just the action. In this respect, that which in motion pictures is referred to as the visual stimulus value also plays a part, and in our programmes that stimulus is attained by a certain type of nature photography. Here again “Girl of Ainu” takes first place; the wild-west landscape shown in this programme, the vast expanses, the farm, the horse herds grazing or galloping, all this belongs to that entertainment for the eye and is not merely beautiful, but also forms a setting which is familiar and popular from other types of production. The animal sequences in “Winter Oak” have a similar entertaining effect, not only on children, but also on many juveniles, but the first beach and sea scenes in “Girl of Ainu,” the way to school in “Longing for Companions” and the tree sequences in “Winter Oak” are not so unrestrictedly stimulating. For many juveniles these passages, which are more symbolic or mood-setting in character, are too long and boring. If they are praised, then mostly by relatively mature juveniles for their content and for aesthetic reasons, which do not, of course, necessarily coincide with the visual stimulus value (cf. p. 21).

All the test persons who accepted “What is a Melody” classified this programme as having good entertainment value. This was partly due to Bernstein’s personality his sparkling aliveness;

his passionate enthusiasm for the subject is transferred to the audience. As long as he is in the picture, talking or directing, there is no boredom. It remains a prerequisite, however, that the subject matter must also be at least a little bit interesting.

The entertainment value is closely related to the amount of variety. The rapid switches from topical reports to popular melodies in "Format 16/20" – in each case built up around certain problems – found great approbation in all groups, with the exception of just a few individuals. It is indicative of the particularly good appeal of this make-up that those who approved of it adhered to their basic, positive views even if details, e. g. a too radical transition at a certain point, the cartoon figure or parts of the programme, aroused even great antipathy. This loosely constructed, fast-paced type of production is in harmony with the nature of juveniles and the rhythm of their own lives ("Not a minute was boring; the programme had plenty of variety, was full of ideas, just the sort of thing we young people wish for." (MS. 17, f.).

It would seem to be particularly noteworthy that this wealth of variety is not only felt to be stirring and exciting, but some juveniles also assert that this stimulating mood – by a sort of transference – also imparts a stimulus to think about the problems that are raised. The argument that this form of abrupt switch-over might result in the music preventing any thought being given to the content of the topical reports was not always, but quite frequently, rejected with the answer: "This form stimulates discussion more than a boring film" or it was stated – not quite so enthusiastically – that in this way people watched everything, while otherwise the topical reports would have been switched off immediately. These and similar remarks are opposed by less numerous, but mostly emphatic "either-or" statements (only hit tunes or only topical reports) expressing the opinion that an overabundance of heterogeneous impressions overwhelms the audience, the one thing does not fit in with the other and the various elements cancel each other out, in particular the music cancels out the problems. Here are a few such remarks: "The musical interludes had an unfavourable effect, because they stifled the questions you had asked yourself; everything became perfunctory and immaterial again" (MS., 17, f.); dislike was expressed for "... the combination of music and topical reports. The music did not correspond to the level of the reports, it was much too superficial. Moreover, it makes the programme too schismatic. It's attractive, but confusing" (employee, 20, m.).

Generally speaking, magazine-type programmes are not highly regarded by juveniles. The example of "Format," however, shows that a clever blend of entertainment and content, since it provides something for everybody, can be well received on the whole and also have a chance of pedagogic success. The great variety also had an attraction for juveniles who were desirous of learning; those with little inclination to learn found that the reports were long – most of these were particularly enthusiastic proponents of the hit music interludes – but then nevertheless took a quite active part in the discussions.

The opposite of variety is monotony. One of the first and most forcibly levelled charges against "Longing for Companions" in all groups was the monotonous tone of the narrator's voice. In addition, the pictures in this programme in general and the repetitions in particular (doubtless employed as an element of composition) were felt to be monotonous, soporific and therefore repugnant. Reasons for disapproval: "He often said 'I have to go over 3 mountains and through 2 valleys before I reach the village'" (telecommunications apprentice, 16, m.), "all too frequent mention of the distance from the town and repetition of the landscape pictures" (OS., 17, f.), "Monotony of the narration" (OS., 17, f.). In connection with the question of the extent to which foreign things are accepted or rejected by juveniles we shall refer back to the alleged monotony of the make-up of this Japanese programme (p. 25). In the opinion of the juveniles, the last report of "Format," which dealt with Algeria, also suffered from the monotony of the make-up, pictures and commentary.

2 (b). We will tackle the question of effective, perception-stimulating make-up by attempting to depict the relationship between certain possible approaches to programme design and certain modes of perception frequently encountered in youth.

One of these modes of perception can be described as *director content-oriented*. From the assessments of many juveniles it can be seen that the content itself was decisive for their approval and that they read and accepted that content, without any roundabout approach via an interesting form, directly from the substance of the programme. In the reasons given, the emphasis is placed on the fact that opportunity was provided to learn something, and often a clear moral is also formulated. No fault is found with the make-up, if it is simple and uncomplicated; clear illustration of the problem is more important.

All the tested programmes had elements which permit such a mode of perception, but to different extents. In this respect "Longing for Companions" is exemplary. When it was given a high rating, the reason was almost always this mode of perception. The passion for learning, will power, endurance and willingness to make sacrifices are admired. The identification with the Japanese correspondence course pupil has a hint of idealism about it – which is typical of this mode of perception – it is less identification on the same plane than on a level higher than the viewer's own. The Japanese boy is an ideal. This may, for instance, be "a big psychological help for evening school students" (electrician, 18, m.). Elements of the programme which have that sort of appeal are: "The striving of the Japanese boy to achieve something better" (coachwork metal worker, 17, m.); "The enthusiasm the Japanese boy found for further education; his acting was phantastically realistic" (MS., 17, f.); "The Japanese boy's everyday life was shown extremely well, especially how hard he had to work" (OS, 18, m). What has already been indicated in the last two quotations, i. e. the fact that the programme has a high degree of "reality" and therefore has the effect of authenticity, is often stressed by juveniles whose lives follow the pattern discussed. Apart from the admiration for an ideal, we also find comparisons between the Japanese boy's lot and the viewer's own considerably easier one. This direct transference of the content of the programme to one's own situation is likewise one of the frequently observed characteristics of this mode of perception. Here are a few reasons offered for positive assessments of "Longing for Companions": "The theme and the consequent comparison with our situation. You are forced to think about it and draw comparisons." (MS, 17, f.); "Young people realize that there are much bigger problems than their own sometimes" (MS, 17, f.); "We, the younger generation, are called upon to press forward. We've become very easy-going" (decorator, 18, m.); "So that we realize again what a good life we have" (tinsmith, 17, m. – cf. p. 25 et seq.).

Those juveniles who gave "Girl of Ainu" excellent ratings perceived and interpreted this programme in a very similar manner to that observed in the case of "Longing for Companions", only here the situation is not quite so clear because there is an additional positive entertainment value. The lessons learnt again have slightly differing variants; first, the recognition that all people are equal and then, above all, again the direct application to the viewer's own life, namely the general affirmation "that with courage and will power one can mould one's own life" (clerk, 19, m.).

The Algerian report in "Format", too, though generally described as boring and colourless (e. g. "as boring as the continual war graves campaigns on television"), when perceived in the manner described here, especially from the idealizing standpoint, is ranked much higher, once more coupled with the realization of how far away we are in our country from such far-reaching willingness to help and make personal sacrifices.

Many statements show that "Spring Rain" contains a great deal which can be directly perceived from the content. In this sense it is referred to as "enlightenment for young persons", mentioning that "... young people learn how you have to act towards other people, such as your girl friend" (chemigraphic apprentice, 15, m.); that "people who are in love should nevertheless observe their partner carefully" (bank clerk, 21, m.). However, the juveniles who choose such palpable formulations are mostly not the most zealous proponents of this programme, as was the case with the previously mentioned examples.

Now, which of the juveniles incline towards direct, content-based perception? According to our observations, there may be a connection with age, but also with sociological or individual

factors. Residual traces of that total dependence on the action which is typical of the child, for whom it is a matter of course to say he did not like something because he disliked part of what happened (e. g. in "Castle in Spain," because the boys jeered at Pedro), are still found in juveniles; however, it is not the norm, but a sign of childishness to write, for instance, in describing what was disliked in "Spring Rain": "The boy because he was impolite and cheeky" (apprentice, 15, m.). In comparison, it is a substantial advance in generalization and abstraction to deduce a content or moral from behaviour, but in view of the close adherence to the substance it is probably a direct, more or less advanced development of "childish" judgment and of the conclusions drawn from the programme (cf. p. 3 and 5).

Furthermore, judgments indicative of direct, content-based perception are found frequently among girls from lower-level secondary schools or working juveniles, from whose other remarks the impression is gained that they are striving to improve their social level. Several upperlevel secondary school pupils from rather high social strata likewise betrayed characteristic signs of this mode of perception; probably their individualities make them lean towards the tutorial and moralizing vein.

In the case of many juveniles, a programme has no prospect of producing a perceptive response, if it does not satisfy certain demands on the form. Here we may speak of a mode of perception demanding differentiation. The various wishes and conditions can probably be considered best from this point of view. This and the previously mentioned mode of perception are mutually exclusive in so far as either the one or the other is decisive for the formation of judgments. However, juveniles with this direct form of perception should by no means be regarded from the outset as less differentiated and "more primitive." This is, of course, true in many instances, but especially those juveniles described as aspiring and morally oriented see defects of form very clearly, but they consider them less important.

One of the main requirements is that the make-up and execution should do justice to the problem that is posed, not simplify and make light of it or offer a slick solution incompatible with reality. This charge is levelled at both Japanese programmes, but in this respect the chief offender is "Girl of Ainu." Mainly the great majority of the upper-level secondary school pupils, but also some of the working juveniles, were radically opposed to a make-up which is crystal-clear from the beginning and steers a straight course for its goal, in which everything works out exactly as demanded by the basic optimistic tenor and which has to resort to volcano outbreaks to prepare the way instead of human tensions and conflicts arising out of the problem. In the course of the conversations, expressions were used such as "young girl's book style", comparisons were drawn with "Fury" and "The Girls of Immenhof" (German feature film), and it was asserted that a make-up of this nature was for younger viewers (under 15), but unattractive for the speaker's own age group because of the slick solution of the conflicts ("The entire film was terrible for our age group, it was neither entertaining nor instructive" (OS., 15, f.); "The whole make-up and the story of the film were unimaginative and too simple; a little bit more could be expected for our age group" (OS., 17, f.).

Despite the loudly demanded "problems" and the great propensity to criticize, however, the critical objections remained generally superficial; they were concerned more with realities than with basic questions. For instance, it was objected, with many variations, that a girl of Mitsu's age (15) cannot do the heavy farm work, that it is improbable that she would find work immediately, that people on the farm said nothing against her race, etc. On the other hand, the question of how far it is really true that work can actually give a feeling of complete fulfilment to the extent that was shown was never raised, and queries by the leader of the debate in this direction were scarcely understood.

As a result of the disapproval of the juveniles, we showed "Girl of Ainu" to older children with good success with regard to both the approval and understanding, which is attributable to the high entertainment value and the direct access via the substance incorporated in this programme. "Longing for Companions", like "Girl of Ainu", has a direct approach, and the assessment,

especially the references to its suitability for a younger age group, was on similar lines. However, since this latter programme has, on the one hand, a more clearly stressed informative intent, and on the other provides other reasons for disapproval, the defective make-up is not placed so much in the foreground in the arguments that are advanced.

As far as a make-up based on human tensions is concerned, "Spring Rain" is given a substantially better rating than the two Japanese programmes, particularly because of its loose-ended conclusion which, with the exception of a few who called it abrupt and unclear, was well received. The rigid happy-end pattern is beginning to be disliked by some 13-14 year olds.

This open-ended conclusion was regularly the theme of lively discussion. The lack of clearly defined further developments invites the viewer to find his own interpretation and to underpin it with symptoms observed in the programme (e. g. what is the meaning of the girl placing her hand in the young man's again?). This gave rise to a little study of human relations which was an experience for many juveniles because they subjectively took part in it and mostly were able to contribute something from their own past experience. In this instance, the productiveness of the evaluation was similar to that encountered in the case of the so-called "question-mark" films of the "Institut für Film und Bild".

A second group of reasons for approval or disapproval can probably be ascribed to the basic requirement of differentiated expression, in which connection it should immediately be added that present taste in respect of differentiation - i. e. refinement of the original immediacy and directness - shows a clear trend towards reticence and understatement.

On the whole, strong or obtrusive dramatic means of expression were not employed in any of the tested programmes. In "Format's" topical reports that sort of thing is obviously superfluous. Bernstein was occasionally referred to as a "clown" or "ham." The actors in the three programmes with a feature-film make-up ("Longing for Companions", "Girl of Ainu", "Spring Rain") are reticent in their acting, which on the whole earned them praise for naturalness, unaffectedness and simplicity. However, the few scenes in which the dramatic effect is slightly overplayed were promptly and fairly unanimously singled out and attacked as theatrical, pathetic, hammy, too romantic, exaggerated. Scenes of this nature in "Spring Rain" are "the jumping around of the girl" and the "Girl's eternal walking around". Translated this means that 1. the skipping gait of the girl on her own or with her friend on the way to the destination of their excursion, and especially while going through the sun-bathed woods, was felt to be foolish and sentimental, childish nonsense, and 2. also her running away from her friend - the "moving staircase" is often mentioned in this connection - caused annoyance in this type of presentation more than the "lengthiness" (cf. p. 22). Apart from this objection, the Russian girl is generally liked precisely because of her naturalness and her resolute action. The role which the director assigned to her partner is described as having some very good points (especially the newspaper scene), but nevertheless as overstressed and therefore not completely convincing (running to the tower; why exactly 10 ices?).

Both the girl of Ainu and the Japanese correspondence course student throw themselves on the ground when they have reached their goal and perform a sort of somersault for joy. For children, an action of this nature was still necessary and effective in "Castle in Spain", but for present-day German juveniles it is impossible, and the high-flown commentary at this point, and in "Longing for Companions" the additional hymn-like music, are hardly necessary to make a scene like this sufficient to nullify any effective assimilation of the entire programme by some of the juveniles.

Moreover, the whole tone of a programme may be undifferentiated, all too clear and blunt. In all the questions of make-up touched upon here, the style of a given people and the style of the current period indubitably plays a big part. Our only intention in this context is to establish that the manner of teaching employed in "Longing for Companions" was felt by the majority of our juveniles - including many who basically approved of the programme - to be like using a steamhammer to crack a nut, and they therefore found it highly repugnant. The chief reason

is to be found in what the juveniles call the unbearable "pathos" of the commentary; that is a more serious defect than monotony. Here are a few examples: "Exaggeration in picture and narration. Not for juveniles who have the problems which were shown, because it (the programme) may put them off" (snow barker, 19, m.); "The mood is overdone . . . poor accompanying text. False idealism, gives no incentive because it is false-to-fact and unrealistic" (OS., 17, m.); "The text was much too sentimental . . . the narrator's voice was too whiny and the words too florid. The young man spent all his time being sorry for himself . . . I can't stand that sort of demand for gratitude – which I gather is the idea of the film" (OS., 17, f.).

"Spring Rain" presents its little incident, and hence also its lesson, in exactly the opposite tone. This style had a much greater appeal to many juveniles. This programme, too, has its defects, but on the plus side we have: "Narrated in a light, gay vein, short passages pleasant and unobtrusive, but clearly described" (OS., 18, m.); "Everything is just hinted at, with a few words . . . It is entertainment and yet it stimulates thought, it is "easily digestible" but not superficial" (OS., 17, f.); "I personally liked the solution, no happy end, but no tears." (OS., 15, f.). Together with such statements, praise is also expressed for the brevity, the capacity for saying so much in such concise form and so unequivocally.

"Longing for Companions", "Spring Rain" and "Winter Oak" were shown to the juveniles in the form in which they were submitted for the Prix Jeunesse, i. e., the first with synchronized first-person, German narrative, the other two unsynchronized with Russian text. Our experience with these two programmes and also in other connections is that where a commentary is used there is a great danger of exaggeration, too obvious allusions and too detailed description. Dialogue is not only more lively; the normal, rapid give and take necessitates brevity and conciseness; long conversations are generally regarded as "unfilm-like". Facilitation of identification might be excepted of first-person narration. In "Longing for Companions" it also employs at the same time the means which is currently so popular in motion pictures, non-parallelism of picture and speech, evidently with the intention of making the words appear to be thoughts passing through the Japanese boy's mind during his work, on his way to school, etc. This form was not effective. How little the narration was accepted as the correspondence course student's own statements is demonstrated above all by the fact that the boy, himself, was almost always described as likeable, while the words allegedly spoken by him were regarded as the epitome of unpleasant pathos. On the contrary, some juveniles classified it as a sort of technical defect of the programme that picture and text did not coincide.

"Spring Rain" and "Winter Oak" confirm the success of screenings without translated texts (cf. p. 7 et seq.). The great expressiveness of the pictures and the pregnancy of the various events were particularly effective due to the lack of the spoken word. Of course, there are always some juveniles who think they cannot understand enough without accompanying speech, but a large proportion of our viewers was of the opinion that an unsynchronized version – always provided that the optical make-up is sufficiently expressive – contributes towards keener observation, increased attention and therefore to more thorough deliberation. The possibility of a short introduction was also discussed; some were in favour, others against it.

Every type of make-up which attempts to say more than that which lies on the surface can be deemed to have a certain degree of differentiation. Is such a *symbolical, differentiated make-up* suitable for juveniles, and if so to what extent? From the juveniles leaning towards hinted significance and reticence it might be deduced that this type of make-up has a high degree of effectiveness in stimulating responses. As opposed to this, the majority of juveniles still find it difficult to penetrate the surface and reach the more deep-lying levels.

The gap between the outward sign and the content may vary considerably. When the young man in "Spring Rain" carefully spreads out a newspaper for himself while his lady friend is intended to sit down on the bare grass, that is a quite direct sign of his lack of consideration, in fact a demonstration, which everybody – and particularly children – grasps immediately. Considerably greater powers of interpretation are required to recognize the paper aeroplane the small boy throws into the air at the end, while the girl gazes after it with a smile on her

face, as the psychological overcoming of the conflict and "a gleam of hope". The aeroplane has no direct relation to the deeper meaning it embodies in this scene. Its significance is only appreciated by a combination of the various "signs" and, above all, by reference back (abstraction) to the common traits, namely freedom from the earth's gravity in the flight of the tiny paper glider and a similar inner freedom in the girl's feelings because she has freed herself psychologically from the experience she has just undergone and the related disappointment. The symbolism of this scene is very palpable and was appreciated in one way or another by most of our viewers; they also valued it highly for the way its meaning was only hinted at. The make-up of the sequences with the hall, moving staircase and bridge, signifying withdrawal from the girl's friend and a return to loneliness is much more loosely constructed, less close-knit, more in the nature of a soft, melodious musical accompaniment. This very delicately drawn symbolism is too impalpable and too unclearly linked with the picture for most juveniles and makes very great demands on their capacity to get away from concrete, superficial things and find the deeper meaning. With very few exceptions, our viewers found these passages boring; apart from the "eternal running around" (cf. p. 20) they also criticized that there was "too much setting," "a lot of unimportant things, all the moving stairs", simply because this setting said nothing to them.

The test programmes provide a whole series of examples in which nature shots contribute to the theme. The backlit shots in the forest and later the stormy sky in "Spring Rain" are striking because of the photography alone, and photography is a popular hobby among our juveniles. They were sometimes classified as "good nature shots", while others stressed their mood-setting qualities; in the latter case sometimes with approval, sometimes with disapproval, either as highly artistic in the harmony of photography and action or as sentimental and trashy, especially the storm, because it was regarded as an optical steamhammer. Just a few juveniles, mainly upper-level secondary school pupils, who have more comprehensive knowledge of filming, asserted that these scenes were routine work, clichés encountered in all films claimed to be on a high level. So here, depending on whether the mood expressed by the picture is completely approved or whether the mood content is clearly recognized but criticized on the score of its being laid on all too thickly, verdict stands against verdict: "Very good: The way the film was made and the fact that understanding stops where it begins to rain" (MS., 16, f.); "Fair: I thought the inclusion of nature was disturbing. The change in mood in nature parallel to that in the two young people was a little unbelievable" (OS., 17, f.).

Almost the same variety of assessments were given of the forest scenes in "Winter Oak": Praise as nature shots, very differentiated symbolic interpretation supported by the very expressive acting of the schoolmistress, hints of dislike because of exaggeration, and in this case also more interest in technical make-up aspects coupled with praise for "the photography of the sun, from the trees down on to the people, animal shots, sound engineering with echo, music" (OS., 18, m.).

In the reception given the landscape photography in "Longing for Companions" we find a repetition of our experience with the moving staircase – hall – bridge sequences. The part played by the pictures of the way to school, all the repetitions in the make-up of the programme, in building up the theme, in depicting the monotonous and wearisome aspect of the young Japanese boy's life was appreciated only by a few mature and artistically sensitive juveniles. For the rest, apart from being boring the "two mountains and three valleys" were at best well photographed. The beach and sea scenes in "Girl of Ainu" were similarly boring when considered on their own, and they were "poetic" and "lyrical" only for the few who sensed in them a harmonizing background for the gloomy mood of the girl gathering seaweed.

Juveniles want to get to know life in all its various aspects and gladly resort to films and television for help. The realization of the hoped-for further education, however, is set certain limits in the juveniles themselves, in a marked *egocentricity* which diminishes receptiveness for new and different things. Anything which has no close personal reference to the juvenile viewer himself – this experience has already been confirmed in connection with

motion pictures – is in danger of not being effective in stimulating a response, i. e. of not being taken in, being rejected, or being misunderstood due to assessment exclusively from the viewer's personal standpoint. In a similar connection Tröger speaks of an ambivalence between a "broadening tendency" and an "adaption tendency", the latter consisting in adaption of the new to old personal experience (4, p. 137). It has already been stated in the discussion of the themes of the Prix Jeunesse programmes that, on the whole, they coincide well with juvenile interests (p. 13 et seq.). In the following, this relationship is examined and inquiries are made into various types and effects of egocentricity.

The "Format" programme is interesting in that some of the working juveniles disliked the topical reports which were classified as "good" and "very good" by almost all secondary school pupils and also by many of their working friends. Most of these hostile juveniles would have preferred music to reports, but that is not the only reason; another is that in all three reports the major role is played by students ("Why only students?", turner, 16; "Those students take things a little too far," printer, 18). Similarly, in the written statements of secondary school pupils we often find that it gave an interesting insight "into the life of students" – not just young people. This fact was scarcely noticed by adult viewers, and in the Algerian report it is just barely touched upon in that some of the volunteers were "young students", but this is not stressed in any way. The theme of the "Students' Ball", on the other hand, is the rivalry between students and young workers, but, astonishingly, precisely in this case there was no marked manifestation of differences. The reasons for this will be referred to later on. The report that is almost entirely responsible for the differences in the verdicts is the interview in which two students, one physics and the other theology, give the reasons for their choice of profession.

Both students pass quickly from the reasons for their choice to ideological questions and attempt to formulate what God, freedom, success and love mean to them. They tackle questions which have great importance during the years of development. Those juveniles who found these talks stimulating are also of the opinion "that one out of every two young persons probably has the same problems" (OS., 17, m.). The disapproving juveniles, on the other hand, emphasize that they, too, have problems, but considerably different ones. To a certain extent that is probably correct, but if all the material is considered together, it seems that it is probably not the problems themselves, but the way they are presented which was the decisive factor.

Even in appearance the two students are of very different types. The physicist is graceful and animated, answers with French vivacity and quick-wittedness, emphasizes what he says with facial expressions and gestures. His views are those of a young sceptic and existentialist. Here is some evidence: He made a short film about the boredom and isolation of the individual. He often uses expressions such as: "I occupy myself, but I am convinced that it is merely movement, that I do not feel personally affected, in fact I feel useless." Where it is a matter of conventional ethical values, he relativizes and makes his own sentiments the yardstick. He is very much an atheist.

The theologian is more heavily built, wears glasses, is calmer and more deliberate in his movements and speech. His answers reveal him to be a thoroughly open-minded young man who can think for himself and is by no means in a rut; naturally his ideology is based on the theology he has chosen as a career. On several occasions he stresses that at 19 he is fully convinced that his choice of career is right, but he thinks it is quite conceivable that circumstances might arise which cast doubts on his present decision and force him to reconsider things.

For the juveniles who approved of this programme the physicist was a strong identification figure; in a number of instances the praise was justified with the confession: "because I think exactly the way he does." He impresses them not only by the revolutionary tenor of his words, but also by the frankness with which he says them, his nimble-witted reaction and his completely unrestrained behaviour in front of the camera. This impression simultaneously gives the idea that he is free and independent in forming his opinions.

The observer is given the impression that via this fascinating personality the opinions that are expressed are transferred at the same time. In this case, the otherwise highly critical secondary school pupils refrained from objecting to the partly hazy formulations; on the contrary, they described the physicist's arguments as sound and well-grounded. Similarly, they voiced no objection to some of the reporter's queries which compelled superficiality in the reply (e. g. "If you had to sum up your life in a single word, what word would you use?"). Although neither the content nor the formulation of the physicist's statements was contradicted by the juveniles, it cannot be assumed that they all thought "exactly" as he did on all questions prior to the screening, for some of the secondary school pupils attend a church-operated school.

The physicist's admirers tend to describe the theologian as narrow-minded, ignorant of the ways of the world, pompous and tied to the opinions of his "school", and hence less likeable, although in many instances it is admitted that the answers of both students "evidenced a high degree of intelligence".

The young physicist embodies the ideal image of the youthful intellectual. Some of the working juveniles – as far as our material permits deductions, those affected are more "manual workers" – are completely at a loss with this type of person; in many instances, in fact, he arouses animosity instead of impressing. The more reticent among them admitted they found it difficult to place themselves in his position and did not really understand him; the more aggressive viewers levelled quite belligerent charges: "He was bombastic", "The film he showed was in bad taste", "He doesn't know what he wants", "He pities himself and abuses God and the world", "A French existentialist" and for them – as the theologian was for the others – he was also pompous and a representative of "present-day youth", the latter remark being made in a scornful, derogatory tone and aimed at young intellectuals in general. It is superfluous to say that these viewers did not even make the slightest attempt to get to know the physicist's views of the world, to say nothing of adapting themselves to them. The theologian speaks the language of these juveniles better and, in contrast to his colleague, he is described by them as "serious" and, in many cases, as likeable.

There are probably a number of reasons why the "Student's Ball" did not give rise to "class strife", although the latter was the essence of this report. In its make-up and photography it is more pallid, for our juveniles the actions of the students were simply carnival revels, the chairman of the student body delivers more or less a monologue, which is pale in comparison to the greater variety of the interview technique in the other report. But a more decisive factor is probably that all the juveniles had a closer personal contact with the physics student; for some he was an object of great admiration, for the others he was the target for annoyance from which they have suffered quite enough in their lives. This personal relationship stirs up contradictory sentiments in youth quite differently than can any problem dealt with in a general manner; in this instance it brought class differences among juveniles everywhere to the surface. For a general treatment to produce similar results, it would have to be at least on the level of the student's disturbances in the Schwabing district of Munich.

It is by no means always sufficient for a problem in itself to be one which affects young people; there is also no universal language of youth. In our example, the language that had to be used in speaking to the one juvenile or the other about God, freedom, love, etc., was completely different, and had to be adapted to the primarily sociologically conditioned ego of the individual, which has certain basic ideals, and prefers or rejects a certain form of diction, etc. These relationships, which are familiar to all good public speakers, are applicable in television to the entire programme make-up.

In other cases the sociological element naturally plays only a small part, if any at all, and it is other facets of egocentricity which affect the mode of perception. All the tested programmes were foreign productions and therefore require that personal experience and habit be disregarded to a more or less high degree. In the case of "Format", the foreign element, if it is noticed at all, brings the entire programme praise for its charming, light touch, and it

affects the negative or positive attitude to the physicist in that his French traits of character emphasize the controversial qualities.

The situation is quite different in the case of "Longing for Companions", where the foreign element considerably impairs understanding. Most of the disapproving statements in which matters of style are given as reasons are attributable to the foreignness. The monotony (p. 20), the long drawn-out presentation, the "unbearable pathos" (p. 17), all "exaggerations", e. g. also the poetic words with which the boy accompanies the setting of the fire in the charcoal kiln, are means of expression of a foreign people, which are alien to our German juveniles and, above all, something they are completely unused to. Knowledge of Japanese films was almost non-existent in most of our test participants.

In spite of everything, even in the case of "Longing for Companions", for all its alien make-up, there were very personal contacts and possible access routes for individual juveniles: The already mentioned common aspiration to better education (p. 18) and also the feeling of loneliness, which makes the destiny of the Japanese boy an effective response-stimulus, especially in the sense of discovering oneself again in another, which is accepted as self-confirmation and may lead to reflections on one's own person and profounder thought. (cf. quotations, p. 18 et seq.). This type of reflection is a quite frequent and inherently positive aspect of egocentricity. But then, again, precisely the apprehension of the Japanese boy's endeavours to acquire a better education and the conclusions derived therefrom are clearly fraught with the difficulty of considering a problem from a standpoint other than one's own. Starting from the fact that with regard to education facilities the Japanese conditions are very unfavourable, one's own situation is considered – likewise a very desirable sort of "self-contemplation" – often with a feeling of satisfaction and gratitude (cf. p. 18). But the next step, the often encountered resulting realization that the situation elsewhere is quite different than in our own land and that it therefore does not really apply to us, often prevents further deliberation on the problem and, in particular, the endeavour to understand things from the viewpoint applicable to that country. Owing to the fact that this otherness induces the viewer to refrain from pursuing the question further and – an equally important point – owing to the actual differences in the conception of life, the Japanese boy's efforts to obtain a better education remain incomprehensible for many of our juveniles. What actually is he studying for? This question was posed regularly in all groups and always with the implication that it was completely senseless in his situation. The idea of education as a greater fulfilment of life, to develop one's own personality without pursuing any express purpose, which is the underlying theme of this programme, is in itself very difficult for many young people to grasp, and it is even less easily comprehensible when illustrated against a setting of foreign living conditions which, quite apart from the strange style of presentation, also necessitates translation into terms of one's own situation. Consequently "Longing for Companions" is also the programme which occasioned the loudest protests against the foreign element: "Why, of all things, a Japanese film?" (Clerk, 16, f.); "below average: Problems of this sort should be looked for and critically observed here in Germany. As a young person you can much more easily imagine yourself being in such a (= German) situation" (decorator, 19, m.).

In view of previously gained experience, we thereupon introduced into the questionnaire: 1. a general question as to the reason for seeking education, and 2. a special question on the Japanese boy's motives. First and foremost, the material reasons for education outweigh the purely intellectual one by 2 : 1. Secondly, the answers to both questions repeatedly reflect the same attitude, so the viewer's own reasons were transferred to the Japanese boy more or less without further consideration, no matter how badly they fit what could have been extracted from the programme. Here are two "materialistic" and one "intellectual" example: 1st. answer: "Because everybody should try to learn as much as he can, to ensure himself a sound livelihood" – 2nd answer: "a higher standard of living" (independent business man, 25); 1st answer: "Because you want to get on in life, have a job that brings more money and is simpler and not too strenuous" – 2nd answer: "To get a well-paid job in the city and perhaps to go to another country" (advertising agency employee, 19, m.); 1st answer: "Because of an urge to learn as

many new things as possible, to explore strange fields" – 2nd answer: "To gain an insight into things he had not previously known" (medico-technical assistant, 17, f.).

The modes of perception illustrated here can also be observed in somewhat modified form in other connections. The Japanese boy's parents are "narrow-minded" in all circumstances, but the assessment may continue with the remark that things are not very much different here, i. e., narrow-mindedness is a universal quality of parents, or that such narrow-mindedness – not very much different than in the case of the children (p. 3 et seq.) measured by the usual German conditions and customs – is an absolutely impossible attitude. No attempt is made to understand, to inquire into the completely different social structure and the position of parents in Japan. The knowledge gained of other social forms is just as meagre as in the case of the above-mentioned new "concept of education"; the alleged "insight into conditions in another country" never penetrates below the surface. It probably depends on the attitude to the viewer's own parents, which of these two aspects of egocentricity comes into play. Similarly, the bear sacrifice in "Girl of Ainu" is considered barbaric – which is also the way it is presented in the programme – and not as a religious ceremony. These examples are further illustrations of the familiar psychological observation that the juveniles think "unhistorically"; this applies not only to the story, but also to the understanding of strange situations.

In the final analysis, the egocentricity, in so far as it is of a typically juvenile nature, is closely related in all instances to the still little developed capacity of many juveniles to get away from their own personalities, their own environment, their own experiences or from the visible form in which a problem is presented in a specific programme or a specific film. To cite a further example from our test screenings, the viewer extracts from "Girl of Ainu", in what might almost be termed a mental short-circuit process, the "moral" that with the requisite energy even a young person can gain success and mould his own life (p. 18, cf. also criticism, p. 19), a conclusion that is fairly unlikely for an adult. The second "moral" of the story, the equality of all men, is followed – as in the case of "Longing for Companions" – by the comparison that we do not have "anything like that" in our country. Despite obvious assistance, the discussion leaders never succeeded in steering the debate round to parallelism with our foreign-workers problem, for our attitude to people, who in our country may possibly be treated as second-raters at times, does not find expression in degrading them to objects of our curiosity. The observer is convinced that human problems of a general nature also need to be clothed and served up in a manner with which juveniles are familiar in order to call forth a response. This, of course, would be of consequence in finding possibilities for a meaningful international exchange of youth programmes.

A perfect example of a theme which presents scarcely any difficulty with respect to egocentricity is "Spring Rain", and this is expressed in many variants: "Reproduces one's own impressions", "You experience rather than see (e. g. in television)", and similarly the answers on the questionnaires unanimously indicate that it is easy to identify oneself with the young couple, with the appropriate reasons such as the way they act to each other, going for a walk together, the relationship of the sexes to each other, all of which is basically very similar to what is found in our own country, but with a certain limitation: The way in which the love relationship is portrayed is different, they "don't get beyond holding hands" and are very "moral". The character of the girl is also shown in a different light than we are accustomed to, at least in motion pictures and television. Individual viewers said that the girl had a certain amount of masculinity and was a little too resolute.

In this connection it is not necessary to make more than a brief reference to the very egocentric attitude of some juveniles to certain types of music. Approval and disapproval of "Bernstein" or "Format" (p. 15 et seq.) was often governed by whether the viewer was a lover of classical music or a jazz and popular hit fan. Here again, the effort made to appreciate or even get to know the other type is very small. As far as "Bernstein" was concerned, as in the case of "Format", objections due to the foreign element played a minor role. The only fairly serious objection raised in connection with the staging of a "Young People's Concert" was occasioned by the children in the concert hall. To the German mind, such young children just do not

belong there, hence it is "typically American" and the evident boredom of the children was readily cited in this sense. Furthermore, it is at least remarkable for young Germans that young people's concerts should be staged on such a grand scale; in our country such events are arranged on more modest lines – possibly at a university extension school, a youth organization meeting, or a public performance at a musical academy. Above all, however, it was asserted – and here the emphasis on the foreign element goes into open admiration – that none of our German musical directors would consider doing anything like that and devote himself so enthusiastically to youth work. The fact that, on the other hand, several juveniles described Bernstein's comportment as "exaggerated" and "American show business" has already been referred to elsewhere (p. 20).

2 (c). The question as to "informatory effectiveness", as far as juveniles are concerned, is so closely bound up with "perception-stimulating effectiveness" that there remain only a few things to be said about the information programme in thing most people have an indirect horror of" (asist. inspector, 20, m.).

The make-up of the programme employs the tried and proved mutual supplementation of theory and practical example. The explanation of the building blocks from which a melody is made and how the components are built up into an integrated composition is followed by the performance of orchestral works illustrating this construction. In so far as interest was shown in the theme, this alternation was warmly welcomed by the juveniles.

An important question for every instructor is the amount of the material offered. In the opinion of many juveniles, this programme did not entirely succeed in avoiding the danger of serving up "too much at once", and for this reason it was often suggested that it be broken down into two programmes.

The excellent selection of musical examples received equally as much praise as the clarity and vitality of the explanatory remarks. The thing that appealed to so many in this talk was very aptly formulated by one of the juveniles: "He is so natural, not too intellectual, which is something most people have an indirect horror of" (asist. inspector, 20, m.).

Obviously then, he has very successfully found the tone that appeals to the viewer, but with regard to the question of whether the explanations were easily understandable or presupposed too much knowledge of musical theory opinion is roughly equally divided. Less frequently there were complaints that those who did not already know the piece of music were also unable to grasp the previously explained details.

If television is used to impart information, the subject matter must also justify the employment of this medium. Some of our juveniles would have preferred radio or a set of records, of which several on this theme are available and well known. The majority, however, attached importance to being able to see the conductor's work and the playing of the various instruments of the orchestra. The interspersed views of the audience, on the other hand, were predominantly felt to be an undesirable diversion, especially during the music performances.

The success of an informatory programme of this nature lies in the inducement to examine music and its structure and, in this way, to attain a profounder understanding. Our juveniles understood the programme in this sense and gave it their approbation. For real "instruction", a tauter form would have to be chosen and the technical terminology – e. g. counterpoint – explained more thoroughly.

A definition of "What is a Melody?", which we requested of one group after the screening, showed: 1. that the definitions were greatly influenced by the programme, and included scarcely any of the viewers' own ideas; 2. that there had been no clarification of the terminology, nor probably of the underlying facts. The terms melody, theme, motif, etc., are used in various relationships to each other, or used as synonymous expressions. But then it was probably not the intention of the programme to elucidate concepts. Examination of the scenario shows that Bernstein also employs the various terms in sovereign manner and endeavours primarily to cast light on the nature of a melody, its modifications, its interwoven ramifications. And he certainly succeeded in achieving a stimulating effect in this way.

SUMMARIZATION OF RESULTS

A. Classification into Age and Programme Categories

1. Age Categories: The prize-winning programmes in Categories I and II were best suited – rating them according to appeal and comprehension – for children between 8 and 12, and in part also for older children up to about 14 ("Castle in Spain", "Going to Work", "Winter Oak"). Any classification according to age lays down general limits which do not do justice to the individual viewer in every case. According to our results, however, the selected age groups (I – up to 12; II – from 12 to 15; III – over 15) correspond to psychological development, with one limitation: Subdivision of Category I with a dividing line at 8 years should be considered, since otherwise the peculiarities of the younger viewers in this age group are not given sufficient consideration.
2. Types of Programme: Differentiation among types of programme occasions difficulties in Age Category I because – especially for the younger children in this group – information and entertainment still constitute an indivisible uniform whole and a distinction can be made only on the basis of the main target. In Age Categories II and III the subdivision into (a) "Information and Instruction" and (b) "Games and Entertainment" has proved expedient. There may be overlapping in individual cases ("Format 16/20", "Longing for Companions").

B. Appeal of Programmes

I. Children (Age Categories I and II)

3. The capacity for abstraction in childhood, especially in respect of (motion pictures and) television, is still very small. The basic form of perception and apprehension is direct, unreflected participation with the whole of the personality (cf. p. 1), the greatest emphasis lying on sharing an experience emotionally and by way of physical expression.
4. Television programmes for children must have a clearly constructed plot from beginning to end, which must remain clearly recognizable even when locations and scenes are changed. Frequent and abrupt cuts, and elaborations not directly related to the story ("Castle in Spain") render perception and comprehension more difficult; they are felt to be disturbing (for speech forms cf. point 18).
5. The basic principle of programme make-up must be: extreme resolution of every type of statement into concrete, visible processes (actions, interpersonal relationships, visible expression of feelings). In the case of children, for whom the outer, visible symptom and the meaning are still inseparable, this is the only criterion for "clear illustration" (= visualization). (cf. p. 2 et seq., p. 5).
6. Since the child's mode of perception is dependent on the story, the main character is generally the leader (identification figure) who accompanies the child through the experiences that are shown; the other characters and the events are seen through that main character's eyes and judged from his standpoint. From these "experiences" of the viewing child, the message of the programme is built up (cf. p. 3). The main character must have: 1. educationally desirable qualities and 2. qualities approved by children, otherwise they will not be accepted, with the result that the frame of reference for sharing in experiences will be lacking (Positive examples: "Castle in Spain", "Clown Ferdinand"; negative example: "Winter Oak").
7. The basic idea, the story selected to embody it, and the make-up must be adapted on the same level to the visual experience and emotional perception capacity of the child ("Castle in Spain", cf. p. 3 et seq.).

8. So-called "nature perception" is not yet possible in childhood, consequently nature pictures resolve into disconnected scenes and are boring ("Winter Oak", cf. p. 5 and 6). A feeling for nature develops only with the onset of puberty.
9. Pure ("only informative") information programmes without any form of story in their make-up are found boring by most children – except those with a special interest in the subject – and they pay only little attention ("Lyrebird", cf. p. 8 et seq.); such programmes can expect more general interest only in school television. An example of effective make-up is "Going to Work" (cf. p. 11).
10. Vocational guidance programmes intended to help children approaching school-leaving age to choose a profession are of interest – judging from our test experience with "Going to Work" – only to those who consider the illustrated jobs as possible choices for themselves (cf. p. 10 et seq.).

II. Juveniles (Age Category III)

11. Whereas there are only two main criteria for the assessment of a programme by children: story and main character, access to a television programme can be gained by juveniles along more paths and at more levels, the most important of which are entertainment value, experience and instructional value, formal make-up and special interest trends, some of which are conditioned by sociological and others by individual factors. Consequently, extreme divergence of opinions may be found in juveniles' judgments on a given programme (cf. p. 15).
12. Due to their orientation to their future, juveniles are very interested in programmes of educational value (in the broadest sense, cf. p. 14). Interest in questions affecting human life generally ranks first, that in factual matters second. A general phenomenon observed is the leaning towards dramatized forms of programme, which seem to fit in best with the juveniles' attitude (cf. p. 13).
13. In order to appeal to juveniles, an educational programme must also be entertaining (a certain degree of viscosity of action, variety, liveliness, cf. p. 15 et seq.). As for cinema attendance, the chief motives for television viewing are pleasure in entertainment and the search for knowledge about life; juveniles draw a distinction between the concepts as such, but not in connection with their demands on programme make-up (cf. p. 16).
14. The perception and judgment of juveniles is highly egocentric. The ratings assigned to themes and individual sequences correspond – generally and individually – to the proximity of the theme to the juvenile's range of perception. The finding that events and thematic statements are often directly associated with the viewer's own life points in the same direction (cf. p. 14, p. 18, p. 22 et seq.).
15. Many juveniles' demands as to form lean towards reticence in the make-up (understatement). In contrast to the assessment of the children, overemphasis in picture and speech, and obtrusive instruction – mostly termed "pathos" or "theatrical" – are among the most frequent reasons for disapproval ("Longing for Companions", cf. p. 20 et seq.).
16. One of the chief demands of many juveniles is that the make-up and execution of a programme should do justice to the problem, i. e. instead of producing a slick solution, it should show the problem with all its facets, deriving the "tensions" from the underlying human conflicts and not from fortuitous, incidental things ("Girl of Ainu", cf. p. 19).
17. Symbolic, indirect presentation is only understood by many juveniles – since the capacity for abstraction is still in the development stage during puberty – if the make-up is "close-knit" and the symbol is not all too far removed from the meaning. Otherwise pictures and sequences possess only superficial significance (cf. p. 16, p. 21).

C. International Exchange

18. The form of speech most popular with both children and juveniles is dialogue. A commentary – which it is easier to superimpose than to synchronize the dialogue – has an adverse effect on the participation of children and juveniles, since it is always given from a distance, from the observer's standpoint ("Lyrebird", "Longing for Companions", "Girl of Ainu"). In silent films and synchronized versions, however, suitable, pregnant optical language can replace the explanatory words ("Clown Ferdinand", "Spring Rain").
19. Foreign programmes have prospects of appealing to children and juveniles only in so far as their message concerns universal experiences and the latter are presented in universally apprehensible form (main theme of "Castle in Spain", "Spring Rain"). Any presentation involving alien conditions and foreign mentality or a foreign style of programme make-up may greatly impair understanding of universally valid statements. This fact imposes certain limits on international exchange.

Note of publisher: Upon special request, the numerical evaluation of questionnaires will be mailed to those interested.